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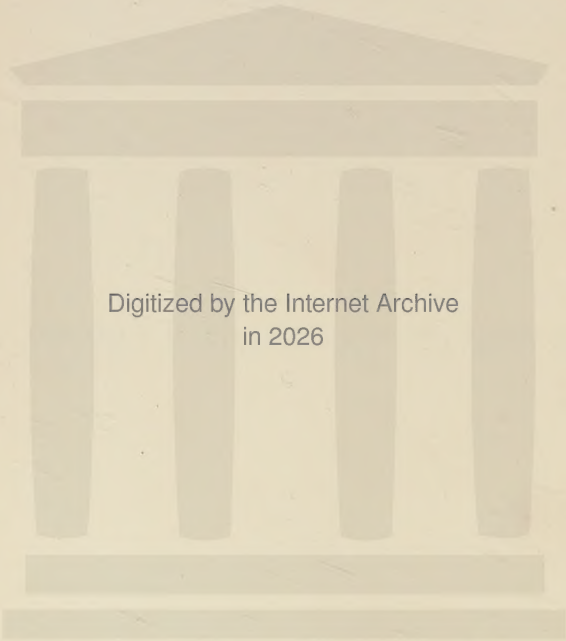

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HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION.

A.D. 64-1517.

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615.	Deusdedit	618
619.	Boniface V.	625
625.	Honorius I.	638
638.	Severinus	640
640.	John IV.	642
642.	Theodore I.	649
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654.	Eugenius I.	657
657.	Vitalian	672
672.	Adeodatus	676
676.	Donus	678
678.	Agatho	681
682.	Leo II.	683
683.	Benedict II.	685
685.	John V.	686
686.	Conon	687
	[Paschal, 687-692.]	
	[Theodore, Sept.-Dec. 687.]	
687.	Sergius I.	701
701.	John VI.	705
705.	John VII.	707
708.	Sisinnius (Jan.-Feb 7)	
708.	Constantine I.	715
715.	Gregory II.	731
731.	Gregory III.	741
741.	Zacharias	752
752.	Stephen (died without consecration)	
——	Stephen II.	757
757.	Paul I.	767
	[Constantine II. 767-8.]	
	[Philip, 768.]	
768.	Stephen III.	772
772.	Adrian I.	795
795.	Leo III.	816
816.	Stephen IV.	817
817.	Paschal I.	824
824.	Eugenius II.	827
827.	Valentine (died within a month — dates uncertain)	
827.	Gregory IV.	844
	[John—Jan. 844.]	
844.	Sergius II.	847
847.	Leo IV.	855
855.	Benedict III.	858
	[Anastasius, Aug.-Sept. 855.]	
858.	Nicolas I.	867
867.	Adrian II.	872
872.	John VIII.	882
882.	Marinus I.	884
884.	Adrian III.	885
885.	Stephen V.	891
891.	Formosus	896
896.	Boniface VI. (May-June)	
——	Stephen VI.	897
897.	Romanus (July-Nov.)	
——	Theodore II. (Nov.-Dec.)	
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610.	Heraclius	641
641.	Constantine III.	641
	Heracleonas	641
641.	Constans II.	668
668.	Constantine IV. (Pogonatus)	685
685.	Justinian II.	695
695.	Leontius	698
698.	Tiberius Apsimar	705
705.	Justinian II. (restored)	711
711.	Philippicus	713
713.	Anastasius II.	716
716.	Theodosius III.	717

A.D.		A.D.
717.	Leo III. (the Isaurian)	741
741.	Constantine V. (Copronymus)	775
775.	Leo IV.	780
780.	Constantine VI.	797
	Irene	802
802.	Nicephorus	811
811.	Stauracius	811
811.	Michael I. (Rhangabe)	813
813.	Leo V. (the Armenian)	820
820.	Michael II. (the Stammerer)	829
829.	Theophilus	842
842.	Michael III. (the Drunkard)	867
867.	Basil I. (the Macedonian)	886
886.	Leo VI. (the Philosopher)	911

Western Emperors, from Charlemagne.

(The date in the first column is that of succession to the kingdom of Germany; that in the second, of the Imperial Coronation.)

814	800. Charlemagne	814
	813. Lewis the Pious	840
	817. Lothair	855
	850. Lewis II.	875
	875. Charles the Bald	877
887	884. Charles the Fat	887
	896. Arnulf	899
	891. Guy } Titular Emperors.	
	894. Lambert }	

Kings of France from the Accession of the Carolingian Dynasty.

752.	Pipin	768
768.	Charlemagne	814
	Carloman	772
814.	Lewis the Pious	840
840.	Charles II. (the Bald)	877
877.	Lewis II. (the Stammerer)	879
879.	Lewis III.	882
	Carloman	884
884.	Charles the Fat	888
888.	Odo, or Eudes	898

Kings of England.

800.	Egbert	836
836.	Ethelwulf	857
857.	Ethelbald	860
857.	Ethelbert	866
866.	Ethelred I.	871
871.	Alfred	901

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK IV. (CONTINUED).

FROM THE ELECTION OF GREGORY THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 590-814.

CHAPTER III.

THE WESTERN CHURCH, FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY THE GREAT TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE SECOND.

A.D. 604-715.

I. THE relations of the papacy with the empire during the period between the first and the second Gregories may in some degree be understood from the foregoing chapter.

The monothelite controversy for a time weakened the influence of Rome, both through the error of Honorius in favouring the heretical party and through the collisions between the papacy and the imperial power. But although Martin suffered severely in person for his proceedings in the council of Lateran, these proceedings —

the assembling of such a synod without the emperor's sanction, and the bold condemnation of his ecclesiastical measures—remained as important steps in the advance of the papal claims ; and in no long time the authority of the Roman name was re-established by the sixth general council.[a] At that council the title of ecumenical or universal bishop, which Gregory had not only denounced in others but rejected for himself, was ascribed to Agatho by his representatives,[b] and the bishops of Rome thenceforth usually assumed it.[c]

Agatho obtained from Constantine Pogonatus an abatement of the sum payable to the emperor on the appointment of a pope ;[d] and the same emperor granted to Benedict II. that, in order to guard against a repetition of the inconveniences which had been felt from the necessity of waiting for the imperial confirmation, the pope should be consecrated immediately after his election.[e] Yet the confirmation by the secular power still remained necessary for the possession of St. Peter's chair,[f] and disputed elections gave the exarchs of Ravenna ample opportunities of interfering in the establishment of the Roman bishops ;[g] if indeed the meaning of the edict for the immediate consecration of the pope were not that the exarch's ratification should be sufficient, without the necessity of referring the matter to Constantinople.[h]

The political influence of the popes increased in proportion as the emperors were obliged by the progress of

[a] Walch, ix. 292; Giesel. I. ii. 487.

[b] Hard. iii. 1424-6.

[c] It occurs in the profession of faith to be made by a bishop according to the 'Liber Diurnus,' about A.D. 682-5, c. iii. tit. 6 (Patrol. cv.); Giesel. I. ii. 487.

[d] "Relevata est quantitas," says Anastasius (144) - an expression which may mean either that the payment was lessened or that it was abolished.

[e] Ib. 146.

[f] As appears from the Liber Diurnus. (See Book III. c. viii. sect. i.). Giesel. I. ii. 487.

[g] Milman, ii. 83.

[h] Note in Mosheim, ii. 83. But see Pagi, xii.

the Saracens to concentrate their strength for the defence of their eastern dominions, and to devolve on the bishops of Rome the care of guarding against the Lombards. The popes now possessed some fortresses of their own, and from time to time they repaired the walls of Rome. The Italians came to regard them more than the sovereigns of Constantinople; and such incidents as the rising of the soldiery against the attempt to carry off Sergius, a similar rising in the pontificate of John VI.,[k] and the refusal of the Romans to acknowledge the authority of Philippicus, are significant tokens of the power which the bishops of Rome had acquired in their own city.[l]

The desolation of the churches of Palestine by the Saracens, and the withdrawal of the patriarchs from Antioch and Jerusalem to the enjoyment of a titular dignity within the empire, furnished the popes with a pretext for a new interference in the affairs of the east. A bishop of Joppa had taken it on himself, perhaps with the imperial sanction, to fill up some vacant sees. In opposition to him, Theodore of Rome commissioned Stephen bishop of Dor (whose name has occurred in the history of the monothelite controversy)[m] to act as his vicar in the Holy Land. The execution of the commission was resisted by the influence of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch; but similar delegations were afterwards given by other popes, although it does not appear with what effect.[n]

The differences between the popes and the court encouraged the archbishops of Ravenna to set up pretensions to independence, which they rested on the eastern principle that the civil importance of their city entitled

[l] Schröckh, xix. 513; Giesel. I. ii. 485-6.

[k] A.D. 701. Anastas. 151.

[l] Giesel. I. ii. 488.

[m] See the preceding chapter.

[n] Hard. iii. 639, 642, 717; Baron. 643. 13; Walch, ix. 214; Giesel. I. ii 487-8; Hefele, iii. 207.

it to such ecclesiastical dignity.[o] The claim caused considerable difficulty to the popes, but was at length set at rest in 683 by Leo II., who obtained an imperial order that the archbishop should repair to Rome for consecration.[p] The schism of Istria, which had arisen out of the controversy on the Three Articles in the middle of the sixth century,[q] was, after many temporary accommodations, finally healed by Sergius in 698.[r] But in the Lombard kingdom, although catholicism was established from the reign of Grimoald (A.D. 662-671), the church still remained independent of Rome, and the entire relations of the Lombards with the papacy were not of any cordial or satisfactory kind.[s]

II. The history of the Spanish church for a century after its abjuration of Arianism consists chiefly in the records of its synods. These assemblies did not confine themselves to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters, but also took an active concern in the affairs of state.[t] As the sovereignty was elective, the voice of the bishops was influential in the choice of kings; and the kings, who from the time of Recared were solemnly crowned by the chief pastors of the church,[u] were naturally desirous to fortify their throne by the support of the clergy. Hence the bishops acquired very great political importance: they were charged with the oversight, not only of the administration of justice, but of the collection of taxes.[x] By this relation between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers, the church became nationalized, and the connection with Rome, in which the catholic bishops had at first found a means of influence and strength,

[o] Giesel. I. ii. 489. See Agnell. Hist. Pontiff. Ravenn. (Patrol. cvi.) 270, &c.

[p] Agnell. 689; Anastas. 145.

[q] See Book III. c. vi.

[r] Anastas. 150; see Pagi, xii. 169; Giesel. I. ii. 410.

[s] Giesel. I. ii. 489-90.

[t] Schröckh, xix. 451, seqq.

[u] Lembke, i. 85.

[x] Planck, ii. 263-5; Giesel. I. ii. 494.

was gradually weakened during the lapse of time from the period of the reconciliation.[y] Although Gregory had bestowed the pall on his friend Leander, bishop of Seville, no record is found of its arrival in Spain;[z] later bishops of Seville do not appear to have applied for it;[a] and the primacy of Spain was transferred by the royal authority from that city to the capital, Toledo.[b]

The most eminent men of the Spanish church during this time were Isidore, bishop of Seville (*Hispalensis*), and Ildefonso (or Alfonso), bishop of Toledo. Isidore, the brother and successor of Leander, held his see from 595 to 636, and was a voluminous writer. His works, which are very miscellaneous in character, are little more than compilations, and are valuable chiefly for the fragments of earlier writings which are preserved in them. But his learning and genius were in his own day admired as extraordinary, and his fame afterwards became such that in the ninth century his name was employed to bespeak credit for the great forgery of the Decretals.[c] Ildefonso, who filled the see of Toledo in the middle of the seventh century, distinguished himself in asserting the perpetual virginity of the Saviour's mother. His exertions are said to have been rewarded by her appearing in dazzling brightness over the altar of his cathedral, and presenting him with a magnificent vestment, to be worn at the celebration of the eucharist on her festivals.[d]

[y] Planck, ii. 693, 701; Guizot, ii. 331.

[z] Greg. Ep. ix. 121. Gieseler supposes that Leander may have died before its arrival. I. ii. 495.

[a] See as to Isidore, Arevalo, 'Isidoriana,' i. 22 (Patrol. lxxxi.).

[b] Giesel. l. c. There is a fable that a bishop of Seville went into Africa, and turned Mahometan; and that thereupon king Chindasuintha transferred the primacy. See Mariana, i. 320.

[c] Acta SS., Apr. 4; Mariana, i. 316-19. See the collection of testimonies in his honour, Patrol. lxxxi. 198-205; lxxxii. 65-70. For the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, see hereafter, book V. sect. iv.

[d] Acta SS., Jan. 23, p. 150; Cyrila, Vita Ildef. 7 (Patrol. xcvi.); Mariana, i. 328.

In the first years of the eighth century king Witiza forbade appeals to Rome, authorized the marriage of the clergy, and obtained for his measures the sanction of a synod held in Toledo in 710; and it is said that he threatened such of the clergy as should oppose these measures with death.[e] This prince is described as a prodigy of impiety, tyranny, and vice;[f] but it has been shown that the darkness of his reputation appears more strongly in later writers than in those who lived near his own time;[g] and it has been conjectured that he may have only meant to prevent the recurrence of complaints against the immorality of the clergy by reviving the liberty of marriage, which had always existed during the Arian period of the Spanish church.[h] But, whatever may have been his motives or the details of his acts, the effects of these were soon brought to an end by the Arab conquest of Spain, which dethroned his successor Roderick.[i] The mountaineers of the north alone retained their independence with their Christianity. The Christians who fell under the Mahometan dominion received the same humiliating toleration in Spain as elsewhere; and in their depressed condition they were glad once more to look for countenance to the see of Rome.

A.D. 701-10.

A.D. 710-11.

III. In France the disorders of the time tended to lessen the connection of the church with Rome. Such differences as arose were necessarily decided on the spot; and there is hardly any trace of intercourse with

[e] Ib. 353-4; Baron. 702. 12; Planck, ii 703. The synod is doubtful. (Schröckh, xix. 463.) Hefele takes no notice of the law as to marriage ascribed to it. iii. 326.

[f] Mariana, l. c.; Baron, 701. 11-12.

[g] See Giesel. I. ii. 495.

[h] Ib. 497. The vulgar story represents him as having sanctioned a Mahometan license as to the marriage both of the clergy and of laity. Pseudo-Liutprand. Chron. 174, 181. (Patrol. cxxxvi.)

[i] Isid. Pacens. in Patrol. xcvi. 1293; Pagi, xii. 229; Gibbon, v. 155-9.

the papal see between the pontificates of the first and the second Gregories.[k] The same troubles which led to this effect caused a general decay of discipline both among the clergy and in the monasteries.[l] When men of the conquering race began to seek after the emoluments and dignities of the church—a change which is marked by the substitution of Teutonic for Roman names in lists of bishops from the seventh century[m]—they brought much of their rudeness with them, and canons against hunting and fighting prelates began to be necessary.[n]

At the same time the wealth and temporal influence by which such persons were attracted into the ranks of the clergy were continually on the increase. Vast gifts of land and of money were bestowed by princes on churches and monasteries, sometimes from pious feeling, sometimes by way of compromise for the indulgence of their vicious passions. Thus Dagobert, the last Merovingian who possessed any energy of character, by the advice of St. Eligius, his master of the mint, enlarged a little chapel of St. Denys, near Paris, into a splendid monastery, furnished it with precious ornaments, the work of the pious goldsmith, and endowed it with large estates, which were partly derived from the spoil of other religious houses.[o] This prince, "like Solomon," says Fredegar, "had three queens and a multitude of concubines;" and the chronicler seems to consider it as a question whether his liberality to the church were or were not sufficient to cover his sins.[p] A.D. 628-638.

[k] Guizot, ii. 167.

[l] Pagi, xi. 576; Giesel. I. ii. 497.

[m] Pitra, Vie de S. Léger, 150.

[n] Ozanam, Civ. Chrét. chez les Francs, 89.

[o] Gesta Dagoberti, 17 (Patrol. xcvi.); Mabill. Ann. i. 340-2, 370.

[p] "Seems," I must say; for I can only guess at the meaning of the words, — "Quod cum aversum plurimum fuisset cor ejus . . . et a Deo cogitatio ejus recessisset, tamen postea, atque utinam ad mercedem veram lucri fuisset, nam eleemosynam pauperibus supra modum largiter erogabat, si hujus rei sagacitas cupiditatis instinctu non praepedisset, regnum ut creditur meruisset æternum. Fredeg. Chron. c. 60 (Patrol. lxxi.).

Another writer, however, not only speaks without any doubt on the subject, but professes to give conclusive information as to the fate of Dagobert. A hermit on an island in the Mediterranean, it is said, was warned in a vision to pray for the Frankish king's soul. He then saw Dagobert in chains, hurried along by a troop of fiends, who were about to cast him into a volcano, when his cries to St. Denys, St. Michael, and St. Martin, brought to his assistance three venerable and glorious persons, who drove off the devils, and, with songs of triumph, conveyed the rescued soul to Abraham's bosom.[q]

On the re-union of the monarchy under Dagobert's father, Clotaire II., the bishops were summoned to an assembly of the *leudes*, and seventy-nine of them appeared at it. The laws passed by the joint consent of the spiritual and temporal aristocracies show traces of ecclesiastical influence, not only in the increase of clerical privileges, but in the humane spirit which pervades them.[r] From that time bishops appear mixing deeply in political strife. Saints become conspicuous objects of general interest.[s] The severity of their lives acquires for them reverence and power, but this power is exercised in the rude contentions of the age. One of the most famous of these saints, Leodegar (or Léger), bishop of Autun, may be mentioned by way of example.[t] Leodegar was sprung from or connected with the most powerful families of the Frankish nobility. He acquired great credit

A.D. 614.

[q] Gesta Dagob. (cc. 23, 44). Baronius (647. 5) maintains the truth of this story, which is represented on the beautiful monument of Dagobert, erected at St. Denys by St. Lewis. Pagi disbelieves the legend, but says that Dagobert repented betimes, and lived many years in piety. This, however, seems very questionable.

[r] Michelet, i. 364; Giesel. I. ii. 447.

[s] Sismondi, ii. 56-8.

[t] See the old Lives, by Ursinus and another, Patrol. xcvi.; Acta SS., Oct. 2; also 'Vie de S. Léger,' by Cardinal Pitra, Paris, 1846; and Milman, ii. 158, seqq.

with Bathildis, the saintly Anglo-Saxon who rose from the condition of a captive to be queen of Clovis II. and regent of Neustria, and by her he was promoted from the abbacy of St. Maixent to the see of Autun.[u] He is celebrated for the austerity of his life, for his frequency in prayer, for his eloquence as a preacher, for his bounty to the poor and to his church, and for his vigilant administration of the episcopal office.[x] But he appears as the political chief of a powerful party of nobles; he takes the lead in setting up and in dethroning kings; and, if he did not actually bear the title of mayor of the palace, he for a time exercised the power of the mayoralty in the Neustro-Burgundian kingdom.[y] After various turns of fortune, Leodegar fell into the hands of his rival Ebroin, who caused his eyes to be put out—an operation which he bore with perfect calmness, singing psalms during the execution of it.[z] Two years later, by order of Ebroin, he was exposed to tortures, his lips were cut off, his tongue was cut out, and he was dragged over sharp stones with such violence that for a time he was unable to stand. Notwithstanding the loss of his organs of speech, however, the bishop was able to speak as well as before.[a] His sufferings and his merits excited a general enthusiasm in his favour, and Ebroin in alarm resolved to rid himself of him by death. A great council of bishops was summoned, and Leodegar was accused before it of having been concerned in the death of Childeric II.—a prince who had owed his throne to him, but had afterwards confined him in the monastery of Luxeuil, and had been put to death by the party with which

A.D. 670.

[u] Vita Bathild. (Patrol. lxxxvii.); Ursin. 1; Pitra, 109, 244.
[x] Vita Anon. 1.
[y] Acta SS., Oct. 2, pp. 381-5.
[z] Vita Anon. 10.
[a] Ib. 13; Pitra, 341. (See above Book III. c. v. sect. iv)

the imprisoned bishop was connected.[b] Leodegar firmly denied the charge, and referred to God as his witness.[c] But his guilt was considered as certain; his robe was rent, in token of degration from his order; and, although a bright light appeared around his head in attestation of his innocence and sanctity, he was beheaded by order of Ebroin.[d] Leodegar was revered as a martyr, and is said to have performed innumerable miracles after death. Yet among his opponents also were some who are ranked in the number of saints—such as Dado or Audoen (Ouen), bishop of Rouen, the friend and biographer of St. Eligius, Præjectus (Prix) of Clermont,[e] and Agilbert of Paris. Ouen's part in the struggle is celebrated for the significant answer which he gave when consulted by Ebroin—"Remember Fredegund,"[f]—words which may have been intended only to recommend the imitation of that famous queen's readiness and decision, but which we can hardly read without thinking also of the unscrupulous wickedness by which her purposes were accomplished.

A.D. 678.

IV. The Irish church, from which Columba had gone forth to labour in North Britain, and Columban in Gaul and Italy, was in these ages fruitful in missionaries, of whom many further notices will occur hereafter. But its internal history, however full of interest for the antiquarian inquirer, offers little that can find a place in such a narrative as this. It will be enough to

[b] Sism. ii. 68-9. [c] Vita, 14; Pitra, 378.

[d] Vita, 14-15. In the account of his death, Card. Pitra chiefly follows a very legendary "Passion." Rohrbacher even exceeds his usual absurdity of manner in an attack on Sismondi for some inaccuracies as to this saint. x. 227.

[e] See Acta SS., Aug. 24, for St. Ouen; Jan. 25, for St. Prix.

[f] "De Fredegunde tibi subveniat in memoriam;" (Gesta Regum Franc. 45, in Patrol. xcvi.). Some writers have denied the truth of the story. See Acta SS., Aug. 24, p. 800-1.

mention here certain peculiarities of administration, which not only throw light on the condition of the Irish church, but serve also to explain the "unusual arrangement"[g] of St. Columba's foundation at Iona, and to account both for the commonness of the episcopal title among the Irish missionary clergy and for the irregular character of their proceedings.

In the early Irish church it was held that the power of ordination belonged to the bishops alone; but the episcopate was merely a personal distinction, which conveyed no right of local jurisdiction.[h] There was no limit to the number of persons on whom it might be conferred,[i] and, like the chorepiscopi of other countries, they were consecrated by a single bishop.[k] The position of Irish bishops, therefore, was widely different, both in spiritual and in temporal respects, from that of bishops elsewhere. As to rank, it would seem that not only abbots, but even anchorets and the lecturers of the church, sometimes took precedence of them.[l] The care of the ecclesiastical property was from early times committed to officers who had the title of *Erenachs;* and, by a remarkable variation from the usual order of the church, the spiritual government was exercised by a class of persons who, as having succeeded to the churches of eminent early missionaries, were styled their *Coarbs* (or successors).[m] These coarbs

[g] Beda, iii. 4. See Book III. c. vii. sect. v.

[h] For much of the substance of this paragraph I am indebted to the Rev. R. King's 'Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh,' (Armagh, 1854). Comp. Ware, 'Antiq. of Ireland,' 232-6.

Bernard. Vita S. Malachiæ, 19 (Patrol. clxxxii.); King's Primer, 985-6.

[k] Lanfranc. Ep. 38 (Patrol. cl.); Anselm. Cantuar. Epp. iii. 142, 147 (ib. clix.); Joh. Tinmuth. in King, Primer, 1007. Lanigan supposes that there was an order of bishops consecrated in the canonical manner, and that besides these there was an order of chorepiscopi consecrated by a single bishop. But Mr. King shows that there is no ground for this. (Memoir, 9-11). The Irish bishops were sometimes consecrated *per saltum*. Todd's St. Patrick, 75.

[l] Reeves on the Culdees, 29.

[m] King, Memoir, Preface, and pp. 6, 17; Todd, 160; Comp. Lanigan, iv. 80-6; E. W. Robertson, i. 329, seqq. Acta SS., Oct. 29, p. 888. Mr. King

occupied positions which had originally been held by abbots; and, while some of them belonged to the episcopal order, the greater number were presbyters. The office of erenach was not transmitted from father to son, but according to the system of *tanistry*—a tanist, or successor, being chosen during the lifetime of each holder.[n] The dignity of coarb was not originally restricted to particular families; but from the tenth century it seems to have become for the most part hereditary—passing from a deceased possessor to his brother, to his nephew, or (as the marriage of the clergy was usual in the Irish church) to his son.[o] The erenachs were originally taken from the ranks of the clergy, but the office gradually fell into the hands of laymen;[p] and at length —probably in consequence of the Danish invasions in the tenth century, when the power of defending the church's possessions became a chief qualification for ecclesiastical government—the laity were admitted to the office of coarbs also; so that, according to a complaint of St. Bernard, the church of Armagh was held by eight laymen in succession,[q] and even instances of female coarbs sometimes occur.[r]

V. The early history of Christianity in the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is marked by much similarity of circumstances. Missionaries meet with a friendly reception: the king, after some prudent hesitation, becomes a convert, but his successors relapse into heathenism; until, after a time, the throne is filled by a prince who had learned the truths of the gospel in exile, and the profes-

informs me that until about the year 1000 the title Coarb is never used, except in connexion with the name of a person (*e. g.* "Coarb of Patrick"); afterwards it is sometimes, although seldom, connected with the name of a place (*e. g.* "Coarb of Armagh"). See Todd, 156-71.

[n] King, Mem. 19

[o] Ib. 21.

[p] Ib. 26.

[q] King, Mem. 22-3; Bern. Vita Malach. 19. See Todd, 155.

[r] Todd 171.

sion of the faith is restored. Matrimonial alliances exercise the same influence in the spreading of religion which had before been seen among the barbarian conquerors of Gaul, Spain, and Italy. Among the evidences by which the gospel was recommended, we find frequent mention of miracles, and not uncommonly the argument from temporal interest—the experience of the fruitlessness of serving the pagan deities, and the inference that they had no power to help or to punish.[s]

In the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons two rival agencies were concerned—that of the Irish or Scottish, and that of the Roman party.[t] Some of the differences as to usage between the Roman missionaries and the native clergy have already been mentioned—among them, the variation as to the time of Easter, produced by the adhesion of the Britons to a cycle which at Rome had long been obsolete.[u] Another subject of contention was the form of the tonsure. It was not until monachism became popular that any tonsure was introduced; nor was it common among the western clergy until the sixth century.[x] But a far earlier origin was now claimed for the fashions which contended in Britain. The Romans, who shaved the crown of the head, in imitation of the crown of thorns, deduced their practice from St. Peter;[y] while that of the Scots and Irish, who shaved the front as far as the ears, in the form of a crescent, was traced by its opponents to Simon Magus—a derivation which the Scots do not appear to have disputed, as they contented themselves with insisting on the virtues of some who had used their form of ton-

[s] For instance, the speech of the Northumbrian priest Coifi (Beda, ii. 13). The argument, however, might be turned against Christianity also; thus the East Saxons apostatized during a pestilence. Beda, iii. 30.

[t] On the shortcomings of the Romans in their missionary work, see Hook, i. 113-20; and compare the peroration of M. de Montalembert's third volume.

[u] Book III. c. vii. sect. v. See Smith's Dissertation in Patrol. xcv. 317, seqq.

[x] Thomassin, I. ii. 27. 13-14; Smith, l. c. 328-9.

[y] Greg. Turon. de Miraculis, i. 28.

sure.[z] The importance which the Irish attached to these varieties may be inferred from the statement of Laurence, the successor of Augustine at Canterbury, that an Irish bishop named Dagan refused, when in England, to partake of food with the Italian clergy, and even to eat under the same roof with them.[a] Honorius and other bishops of Rome endeavoured to allay the dissensions by writing to the bishops of the national party.[b] They succeeded in gaining the Irish,[c] and even some of the Britons; but the Scots of the north continued obstinately to hold out.

A.D. 633. Paulinus, the first archbishop of York, had, after the defeat and death of his convert Edwin of Northumbria, withdrawn into Kent with the widowed queen Ethelburga, a daughter of King Ethelbert, and spent his last years in the bishoprick of Rochester, while the northern kingdom fell back into idolatry.[d] Oswald, who in 635 ascended the Northumbrian throne, had been converted while an exile in Scotland, and, in undertaking the conversion of his subjects, naturally looked to the same church through which he had himself received his knowledge of the gospel.[e] At his request

[z] Ceolfrid, Ep. ad Naitan. ap. Bed. v. 21; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 54; Lanigan, iii. 69; Villanueva, n. in S. Patric. 34-8; Stuart, Pref. to vol. ii. of the great work on the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland,' published by the Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1867, p. 47. Mabillon says that the Scottish tonsure was ascribed to Simon because it was "qualis Simoni Mago aliisque hominibus calvis sponte nascitur." (iii. præf. p. ix). The authority for the sorcerer's baldness is not cited. A more probable explanation is given by Thomassin (I. ii. 28. 14) and by Smith, the editor of Bede (Patrol. xcv. 331),—that the objectionable tonsure was referred to Simon as having been, according both to Scripture and to legend, the adversary of St. Peter. See vol. i. p. 58.

[a] Beda, ii. 4.

[b] Ib. 19.

[c] The Roman Easter was received in the south of Ireland about A.D. 633; but the northern Irish held out longer. (Beda, iii. 3; Lanigan, ii. 389; Reeves, n. on Adamnan, p. 27.) Archbishop Ussher has published a letter from an Irish monk named Cummian to Segenus, abbot of Iona, A.D. 634, in defence of the change. Appendix to 'Religion of Ancient Irish,' in Works, iv. 432-43.

[d] Beda, ii. 20.

[e] Ib. iii. 3; Acta SS., Aug. 5.

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a bishop was sent from Iona; but the missionary was a man of stern character, and, after a short trial, withdrew in anger and despair at the obstinacy of the Northumbrians. The fathers of Iona[f] met in consultation, and he indignantly related to them the failure of his enterprise; when, after he had finished, one of the monks, in a gentle tone of voice, told him that he had proceeded wrongly, and ought rather to have condescended to the rudeness and ignorance of those to whom he had been sent. Immediately the brethren exclaimed that the speaker, Aidan, was right; that the method which he had suggested was the true one, and that he was himself the fittest person to execute it.[g] He was forthwith consecrated as a bishop,[h] and was recommended to Oswald, who (evidently with a reference to the insular nature of his old abode)[i] assigned the island of Lindisfarne for his residence. Here Aidan established a system closely resembling that of Iona; the bishops, with their staff of clergy, living according to monastic rule in a community governed by an abbot.[k] Oswald zealously assisted his labours in spreading the gospel; and, as Aidan was but imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country, the king himself, who had learned the Celtic tongue during his

[f] See Grub, i. 76.

[g] Beda, iii. 5.

[h] Against the extravagant assumption of presbyterian writers that Aidan received his episcopal consecration from presbyters (Cunningham, i. 81-3), see Grub, i. 153-6.

[i] Montalemb. iv. 20-1.

[k] Beda, Vita S. Cuthb. 16 (Patrol. xciv.); Hist. Eccles. iv. 27; Skene, Pref. to Chron. of Picts and Scots, 153 (Edinb. 1867). Dr. Lingard speaks of the system of Lindisfarne as identical with that of Iona (A. S. C. i. 154); but according to Mr. Grub there was "this important difference, – that at Lindisfarne the abbot, who presided over the monastery, occupied his proper place in subordination to the bishop." (i. 77.) Mr. Grub's own quotations from Bede, however, seem to prove that, while the monks were under the bishop's spiritual care, the abbot was supreme in the government of the monastery—the bishop being in this respect under him. The real difference appears to have been that the bishops of Lindisfarne had diocesan authority, which the Scottish bishops of that time (like the Irish) had not. Dr. Todd, in his 'St. Patrick,' has collected many instances in which bishops were subordinate to presbyter-abbots, but I must think that many bear no analogy to the system of Iona, and that some of

exile, often acted as interpreter while the bishop delivered his religious instructions.[1]

Aidan's settlement at Lindisfarne was followed by a large immigration of Scottish missionaries into England. Bede—Roman as he is in his affections, and strongly opposed to their peculiarities—bears hearty witness to the virtues of these northern clergy—their zeal, their gentleness, their humility and simplicity, their earnest study of Scripture, their freedom from all selfishness and avarice, their honest boldness in dealing with the great, their tenderness and charity towards the poor, their strict and self-denying life.[m] "Hence," he writes, with an implied allusion to the degeneracy of his own time, "in those days the religious habit was held in great reverence, so that wheresoever any clerk or monk appeared, he was joyfully received by all as the servant of God; even if he were met with on his journey the people ran to him, and, with bended neck, were glad to be either signed with his hand or blessed by his mouth; and they diligently gave ear to his words of exhortation. And if perchance a priest came to any village, forthwith the inhabitants gathered together, and were careful to seek from him the word of life."[n] Of Aidan himself the historian says that he thoroughly endeavoured to practise all that he knew of Christian duty; and that even as to the paschal question, while he erred in differing from the catholics, he earnestly studied to unite with them in celebrating the great facts of our redemption through the passion, resur-

them seem very questionable. For instance, in a canon of the council of Hertford, A.D. 673,—"Ut ipsi monachi non migrent . . . de monasterio in monasterium, nisi per demissionem proprii abbatis," etc.—Dr. Todd prefers the reading *episcopi* for *ipsi*, and asks "Why *ipsi* monachi?" (p. 49). Surely because the monasteries had been mentioned in the foregoing canon. Beda, iv. 5. See Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 122.

[1] Beda, iii. 3.

[m] Ib. 2, 4, 17, 26.

[n] Ib. 26. See Wordsworth, Eccles. Sonnets, pt. i. 19. Hume refers to the passage as showing the height to which priestly domination was carried among the Anglo-Saxons! i. 55.

rection, and ascension of the Saviour.[o] Aidan's successors were of like character. By them not only was Christianity spread over Northumbria, but other kingdoms, as Mercia and Essex, even to the northern bank of the Thames, were evangelized by missionaries who derived their orders immediately or more remotely from St. Columba's foundation at Iona.[p]

But collisions with the Roman party were inevitable. Oswy, the brother and successor of Oswald, who had learnt his Christianity and had been baptized in Scotland, married a daughter of Edwin of Northumbria, named Eanfleda, who after her father's death had been carried by Paulinus into Kent, and there brought up among her mother's kindred. The royal pair adhered to the customs of their respective teachers; and thus, while Oswy was celebrating the Easter festival, the queen was still engaged in the penitential exercises of Lent.[q] The king's eldest son and colleague, Aldfrid, strongly took up the Roman views, and expelled the Scottish monks from a monastery at Ripon in order to substitute Romanizers, under Wilfrid, a priest of Northumbrian birth, who, having become discontented with the customs of Lindisfarne, had been sent by Eanfleda's patronage to Rome, and had returned to his native country with a zealous desire to propagate the usages of the Roman church.[r] The paschal question was discussed in a conference at Streaneshalch (Whitby), in the presence of Oswy and his son.[s] On the part of the Scots appeared Colman of Lindisfarne, with Cedd, a Northumbrian, who had been consecrated as bishop by Aidan's successor Finan, and had effected a second conversion

A.D. 664.

[o] Beda, iii. 17.

[p] Ib. ii. 20; iii. 15, 21, 22, 24.

[q] Ib. 25.

[r] Ib. 25; v. 19; Life of Wilfrid, by Eddi, 2-7, in Gale, Hist. Brit. Veteres, 1. Wilfrid was born in 634. (Eadmer. Vita Wilf. 4. Patrol. clix.) For his first journey to Rome, see Pagi, xi. 514-15.

[s] See Montalembert, iv. 63-4.

of Essex;[t] and they were strengthened by the countenance of the royal and saintly abbess Hilda, in whose monastery the conference was held. On the other side stood Agilbert, a native of France, who had studied in Ireland, and had held the see of Dorchester in Wessex,[u] with Wilfrid, whom the bishop, on the plea of his own inability to speak the language of the country fluently, put forward as the champion of Rome. Wilfrid argued from the custom of that church in which St. Peter and St. Paul had lived and taught, had suffered and had been buried. St. John, to whom the other party traced its practice,[x] had, he said, observed it from a wish to avoid offence to the Jews; but the churches which that apostle had governed had, since the council of Nicæa, conformed to the Roman usage; and neither St. John, nor even the founder of Iona, if alive, would maintain, in opposition to Rome, a practice which was observed only by a handful of insignificant persons in a remote corner of the earth. On Wilfrid's quoting our Lord's promise to bestow on St. Peter "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," Oswy asked Colman whether these words had really been spoken to the apostle. The bishop assented, and owned, in answer to a further question, that he could not produce any such grant of authority to St. Columba. "I tell you then," said the king, "that Peter is the doorkeeper, whom I will not gainsay, lest perchance, if I make him my enemy by disregarding his statutes, there should be no one to open the door of heaven to me."[y] The

[t] Beda, iii. 22.

[u] Ib. 7. Dorchester was afterwards included in Mercia (not. in loc.) The see had been founded by Birinus, who was sent by pope Honorius into Britain with a stipulation that his labours should be devoted to parts where no teacher had before appeared. (Ib.) Agilbert had resigned it in 661. Richardson in Godwin, De Præsulibus, 279.

[x] It was, however, as we have seen, a mistake to identify the Scottish practice with that of the quartodecimans. See Book III. c. vii. sect. 5.

[y] Beda, iii. 25; see Montalemb. iv. 162. Archdeacon Churton (p. 78) and Mr. Martineau (p. 80) speak of these words as a jest, and suppose that the council assented to them as such. But there is no ground for this, except the

Roman party was victorious, and, while some of the Scots conformed, Colman and others withdrew to their own country.[z]

The bishoprick thus vacated was bestowed on Tuda, who had been already consecrated in the southern part of Ireland, where the Roman usages were established ;[a] and when Tuda, within less than a year, was carried off by a pestilence,[b] Wilfrid was appointed to succeed him. But the zealous champion of Roman customs chose to take his title from York, which Gregory the Great had marked out as the seat of an archbishop,[c] rather than from the Scottish foundation of Lindisfarne ; and as the bishops of England were all more or less tainted by a connexion with Scottish or Irish orders, he was not content to receive his consecration at their hands. He therefore passed into France, where he was consecrated with great pomp by Agilbert, now bishop of Paris,[d] and twelve other prelates.[e] In his return to England the vessel in which he was embarked was stranded on the coast of Sussex. The savage and heathen inhabitants rushed down to plunder it, headed by a priest, who, "like another Balaam,"[f] stood on a rising ground uttering spells and curses. But the priest was killed by a stone from a sling ; the crew repelled three attacks, and, as the assailants were preparing for a fourth, the returning tide heaved off the vessel, which then made its way prosperously to Sandwich. Wilfrid found that his scruples as to ordination had cost him dear ; for during his absence the Northumbrian king had bestowed his bishoprick on Ceadda (or Chad), who had been consecrated in Eng-

wish of the writers to save the King's character for theological argument, while they leave his decision and that of the assembly without a motive.

[z] Beda, iii. 26-8.

[a] Ib. 26.

[b] Ib. 27.

[c] See chap. i. of this Book.

[d] Agilbert has already been mentioned in this character, p. 10. See Pagi, xi. 540; Hussey, n. in Bed. p. 167.

[e] Eddi, 12 ; Beda, iii. 28 ; iv. 19.

[f] Eddi, 13.

land, and had entered on his see. Wilfrid, therefore, retired to his monastery of Ripon, where he remained for some years, except when invited to perform episcopal functions in a vacant or unprovided diocese.[g]

In the year 664 (the same year in which the conference took place at Whitby) a great plague carried off the first native archbishop of Canterbury, Frithona, who on his elevation to the see had assumed the name of Adeodatus or Deusdedit.[h] The kings of Northumbria and Kent agreed to send a presbyter named Wighard to Rome for consecration to the primacy; but Wighard died there, and pope Vitalian, apparently in compliance with a request from the kings, chose Theodore, a native of Tarsus, to take his place.[i] Theodore was already sixty-six years of age. He was of eminent repute for learning; but as his oriental birth suggested some suspicions,[k] his consecration was deferred until, by allowing his hair to grow for four months, he had qualified himself for receiving the Latin tonsure instead of the Greek.[l] Theodore arrived in England in 669, and held his see for twenty-one years, with the title and jurisdiction of archbishop of all England; for York had had no archbishop since Paulinus. Under Theodore the churches of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which until then had been independent of each other, were for the first time united; and in other respects his primacy is memorable in the history of the English church. The resort of English students

A.D. 668.

[g] Eddi, 14. Possibly the king may have been influenced by St. Hilda, who was always opposed to Wilfrid. Montalemb. iv. 190, 270.

[h] Beda, iv. 1; Godwin, 40. Deusdedit seems to have been consecrated by a single bishop, Ithamar, of Rochester. Beda, i. 20. See Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 99.

[i] Beda, iii. 29; iv. 1; Milman, ii. 30. For Theodore, see the Acta SS., Sept. 19.

[k] The more naturally, as the visit of Constans to Rome had taken place shortly before. Hook, i. 148.

[l] The Greek tonsure, which was referred to St. Paul as its author, consisted in shaving (or rather in closely clipping) the whole head. Thomassin, I. ii. 28. 10-11; Martene, ii. 15.

to the monasteries of Ireland, as seminaries superior to any that could be found in their own country,[m] was checked by the establishment of schools in which the learning and the science of the age were taught; and it is said that not only Latin, but the Greek primate's native tongue, was spoken as fluently as English.[n] To Theodore has also been ascribed the division of England into parishes; and although this idea is now generally abandoned, it seems to be admitted that he may have paved the way for the parochial division by introducing the right of patronage, which had been established in his native church by Justinian.[o]

The archbishop visited every part of the country. On reaching Northumbria, he inquired into the case of Chad, and disallowed his consecration—partly, it would seem, because it was not derived from a purely Roman source, and partly on account of Wilfrid's prior claims to the see.[p] The bishop meekly replied, "If you judge that I have not received the episcopate rightly, I willingly retire from my office, of which, indeed, I never thought myself worthy, but which, although unworthy, I agreed to undertake for the sake of obedience to command." A.D. 669. Theodore, struck with this humility, reordained him through all the grades of the ministry; and, while Wilfrid took possession of the Northumbrian diocese, Chad, after a short retirement at the monastery of Lastingham, of which he had formerly been an inmate, was appointed by the king of Mercia, on the archbishop's recommendation, to the see of Lichfield.[q]

[m] Beda, iii. 27. [n] Ib. iv. 2.

[o] See Book III. c. viii sect. 2; Collier, i. 262; Inett, i. 154; Lappenb. i. 190. It has been suggested that, as Theodore constituted dioceses which were anciently styled *parochiæ* (see vol. i. p. 429), the notion of his having introduced the division into parishes may have grown out of a confusion between the earlier and later sense of that word. Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 122.

[p] See the Acta SS., Sept. 19, pp. 61-2. [q] Beda, iv. 2-3.

Gregory's scheme for the ecclesiastical organization of England had never taken effect. The bishopricks had originally been of the same extent with the kingdoms, except that in Kent there was a second see at Rochester.[r] Theodore was desirous of increasing the episcopate, and, in a council at Hertford, in 673, proposed a division of the dioceses; but, probably from fear of opposition, he did not press the matter.[s] Soon after this council Wilfrid again fell into trouble. Egfrid, the son and successor of Oswy, was offended because the bishop, instead of aiding him to overcome the inclination of his first queen, Etheldreda, afterwards abbess of Ely, for a life of virginity, had encouraged her in it, and had given her the veil; and the king was further provoked by the suggestions of his second queen, who invidiously dwelt on Wilfrid's wealth, his influence, and the splendour of his state.[t] The primate lent himself to the royal schemes, and not only disregarded the rights of Wilfrid by erecting the sees of Hexham and Sidnacester (near Gainsborough) within his diocese, but superseded him by consecrating a bishop for York itself, as well as bishops for the two new dioceses which had been separated from it.[u] Wilfrid determined to seek redress from Rome. A storm, which carried him to the Frisian coast, saved him from the plots which, through Egfrid's influence, had been laid for detaining him in France;[x] and he remained for some time in Frisia, where his labours were rewarded by the conversion of the king, with most of the chiefs and some thousands of the people. On his arrival at Rome, in

A.D. 677-8.

[r] See Lingard, A. S. C. i. 86; Lappenb. i. 183.

[s] Wilkins, i. 43; Inett, i. 96; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 132-3.

[t] Beda, iv. 19; Eddi, 23; Inett, i. 89. See Montalemb. iv. 251

[u] Beda, iv. 12, and notes; Eddi, 23. See Johnson, i. 118; Acta SS., Sept. 19, p. 63, and as to the chronology, Ib. pp. 66-71.

[x] Eddi, 25-6.

679, his case was investigated by pope Agatho with a council of fifty bishops. It was decided that, if his diocese were divided, the new sees should be filled with persons of his own choosing, and that those who had been intruded into them should be expelled;[y] and Wilfrid was invited to take a place in the council against the monothelites, where he signed the acts as representative of the whole church of Britain.[z] Oct. 679. (Jaffé.)

The Roman council had denounced heavy penalties against all who should contravene its decisions; kings, in particular, were threatened with excommunication. But Egfrid, instead of submitting, imprisoned Wilfrid on his return from Italy, and only offered to release him, and to restore him to a part of his old diocese, on condition of his renouncing the papal statutes. The imprisonment lasted nine months, at the end of which Wilfrid was set at liberty through the influence of the queen, who had been smitten with dangerous illness for possessing herself of his reliquary.[a] He now sought a field of labour at a distance from his persecutors—the kingdom of Sussex, the scene of his perilous adventure in returning from France many years before. Until this time the only Christian teachers who had appeared in Sussex were six poor Irish monks, who had a little monastery at Bosham, but made no progress in converting the inhabitants. The king, however, Ethelwalch, had lately been baptized in Mercia, and gladly patronized the new preacher of the gospel—even to the extent of compelling some of his subjects to receive baptism by force.[b] The people of Sussex were indebted to

[y] Eddi, 29-31; Wilkins, i.44-7. For documents relating to Wilfrid, see Patrol. lxxxix. 46, seqq.

[z] Hard. iii. 1131. See Pagi, xi. 628; Collier, i. 248; Inett, i. 99; Hefele, iii. 229.

[a] Eddi, 33-8. As to the light thrown by the history of Wilfrid on the relations of England with the papacy, see Twysden, Hist. Vindic. 34-40.

[b] Eddi, 40.

Wilfrid for the knowledge of fishing and other useful arts, as well as of Christianity. He established a bishoprick at Selsey, and extended his labours to the Isle of Wight, and into the kingdom of Wessex.[c]

Theodore, at the age of eighty-eight, feeling the approach of death, began to repent of the part which he had taken against Wilfrid. He sent for him, begged his forgiveness, reconciled him with Aldfrid,[d] the new king of Northumbria, and urged him to accept the succession to the primacy. Wilfrid professed a wish to leave the question of the primacy to a council; but he recovered the sees of York and Hexham, with the monastery of Ripon.[e] The archbishop died in 690, and when the see had been two years vacant, was succeeded by Berctwald;[f] and after a time Wilfrid was again ejected—partly for refusing to consent to certain statutes which had been enacted by the late primate. He withdrew into Mercia, where he remained until in 702 he was summoned to appear before a synod at Onestrefield, in Yorkshire. On being required by this assembly to renounce his episcopal office, and to content himself with the monastery of Ripon, the old man indignantly declared that he would not abandon a dignity to which he had been appointed forty years before. He recounted his merits towards the church—saying nothing of his zealous labours for the spreading of the gospel, of his encouragement of letters, or of the stately churches which he had erected, but insisting on his opposition to the Scottish usages, on his introduction of the Latin chant and of the Benedictine rule, and again he repaired to Rome, while his partisans in England were put under a sort of excommunication.[g] The pope, John VI.,

A.D. 690.

[c] Eddi, 40-41; Beda, iv. 13, 16; v. 19.

[d] A different person from Alfrid previously mentioned. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. v. 702.

[e] Eddi, 41-2. See Haddan-Stubbs iii. 171.

[f] Beda, v. 8.

[g] Eddi, 43-7. "This," says Fuller,

was naturally inclined to favour one whose troubles had arisen from a refusal to obey the decrees of Theodore except in so far as they were consistent with those of the apostolic see. And when, at Easter 704, the acts of Pope Agatho's synod against the monothelites were publicly read, the occurrence of Wilfrid's name among the signatures, with the coincidence of his being then again at Rome as a suitor for aid against oppression, raised a general enthusiasm in his favour.[h] He would have wished to end his days at Rome, but by the desire of John VII., whose election he had witnessed, he returned to England, carrying with him a papal recommendation addressed to Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid of Northumbria.[i] The primate, Berctwald, received him kindly; but Aldfrid set at nought the pope's letter, until on his death-bed he relented, and the testimony of his sister as to his last wishes procured for Wilfrid a restoration to the see of Hexham, although it does not appear that he ever recovered the rest of his original diocese. In 709 Wilfrid closed his active and troubled life at the monastery of Oundle, and was buried at Ripon, "the place which, while living in the body, he loved above all others."[k]

The Roman customs as to Easter and the tonsure gradually made their way throughout the British Isles. In 710 they were adopted by the southern Picts, in consequence of a letter addressed to king Naitan (or Nectan) by Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow.[l] It was in vain that

"may be observed in this Wilfrid: his πάρεργα were better than his ἔργα, his casual and occasional were better than his intentional performances; which shows plainly that Providence acted more vigorously in him than his own prudence." i. 133, ed. Nichols.

[h] Eddi, 51; Beda, v. 19.

[i] Patrol. lxxxix. 59.

[k] Eddi, 54-61; Beda, iv. 20; Pagi, xii. 201; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 144. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury in the middle of the tenth century, finding Ripon ruined by the Danes, removed the body of Wilfrid to his own cathedral, with the exception of a small part, which he allowed Ripon to retain. Eadmer, Vita Wilfr. 65 (Patrol clix.).

[l] Beda, v. 21. See Jos. Robertson, i. 16

Adamnan, abbot of Iona, who had been converted to the Roman usages in Northumbria, attempted, in the last years of the seventh century, to introduce them into his monastery;[m] but he was more successful among his own countrymen, the northern Irish, who at his instance abandoned their ancient practice about 697;[n] and at length, in 716, Egbert, an English monk who had received his education in Ireland,[o] induced the monks of St. Columba to celebrate the catholic Easter.[p] The ancient British church adhered to its paschal calculation until the end of the eighth century, but appears to have then conformed to the Roman usage; and, if disputes afterwards arose on the subject, they excited little attention, and speedily died away.[q]

Christianity had had a powerful effect on the civilization of the Anglo-Saxons,[r] and through the exertions of Theodore, Wilfrid, and others, arts and learning were now actively cultivated in England. Benedict Biscop, the founder of the abbey of Wearmouth, who was the companion of Wilfrid in his first visit to Rome, brought back with him the arch-chanter John, by whom the northern clergy were instructed in the Gregorian chant, the course of the festivals, and other ritual matters.[s] From six expeditions to Rome Benedict returned laden with books, relics, vestments, vessels for the altar, and religious pic-

[m] Beda, v. 15; Reeves's Adamnan, xlviii.

[n] Beda, v. 15; Reeves, li. 27.

[o] Beda, iii. 4.

[p] Beda, v. 22. He died on Easter-day, 729. (Ib.) Tighernac records, under the date of 718, "Tonsura corona super familiam Iea datur." (Chron. of Picts, etc., 74, ed. Skene, Edinb. 1867.) The same annalist records, under the preceding year, "Expulsio familiæ Ie trans dorsum Britanniæ a Nectano rege," which seems to mean that all the Columbite clergy who would not adopt the Roman customs were driven out of the British kingdom, although those in Iona itself, not being subject to Nectan, were allowed to retain the Scottish usages until they abandoned them of their own accord. Grub, i. 118-19; Montalemb. v. 9; Skene, pref. 107.

[q] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 63; Montalemb. v. 47-53.

[r] Milman, ii. 18.

[s] Beda, Hist. Eccl. iv. 18; Vitæ Abbatum, 6.

tures.[t] Instead of the thatched wooden churches with which the Scottish missionaries had been content,[u] Benedict and Wilfrid, with the help of masons from France, erected buildings of squared and polished stone, with glazed windows and leaded roofs.[x] Wilfrid built a large structure of this kind over the little wooden church at York in which Paulinus had baptized the Northumbrian king Edwin, but which had since fallen into disrepair and squalid neglect.[y] At Ripon he raised another church, which was consecrated with great pomp and ceremony; two kings were present, and the festivities lasted three days and nights.[z] Still more remarkable than these was his cathedral at Hexham, which is described as the most splendid ecclesiastical building north of the Alps.[a] Benedict Biscop's churches were adorned with pictures brought from Italy. Among them are mentioned one of the blessed Virgin, a set of scenes from the Apocalypse, representing the last judgment, and a series in which subjects from the Old Testament were paralleled with their antitypes from the New; thus, Isaac carrying the wood for his sacrifice corresponded to our Lord bearing the cross, and the brazen serpent to the crucifixion.[b]

Monasteries had now been founded and endowed in great numbers.[c] In some of them recluses of both sexes lived, although in separate parts of the buildings.[d] Many

[t] Beda, VV. Abb. 3; Acta SS., Jan. 12; Lingard. A. S. C. i. 207; Southey, Vindiciæ, 61, seqq.

[u] Beda, iii. 25. See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 177.

[x] Beda, VV. Abb. 5; Hussey, n. in Bed. p. 319. Wilfrid's merits as a promoter of architecture must suffer a serious deduction if, with M. de Montalembert, we regard him as the inventor of ecclesiastical whitewash,—"ce badigeon à la chaux dont on a fait depuis un si triste abus." iv. 235.

[y] Eddi, 16.

[z] Ib. 17.

[a] Ib. 22; Ricard. Hagustald. ap. Twysden, 290-1.

[b] Beda, VV. Abb. 9.

[c] For all that relates to the English monasticism of this time, the reader may now be referred to M. de Montalembert's fourth and fifth volumes (1867), although it need hardly be said that his point of view is not ours.

[d] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 211, 214; Montalemb. v. 314.

ladies of royal birth became abbesses or nuns; and at length it was not unusual for English kings to abdicate their thrones, to go in pilgrimage to Rome, and there to end their days in the monastic habit.[e] But among the Anglo-Saxons, as elsewhere, the popularity of monachism was accompanied by decay.[f] Bede, in his epistle to Egbert, archbishop of York (A.D. 734), draws a picture of corruptions in discipline and morals, both among monks and clergy, which contrasts sadly with his beautiful sketch of the primitive Scottish missionaries. Among other things he mentions a remarkable abuse arising out of the immunities attached to monastic property. Land among the Anglo-Saxons was distinguished as *folkland* or *bocland*. The folkland was national property, held of the king on condition of performing certain services, granted only for a certain term, and liable to resumption; the bocland was held by *book* or charter, for one or more lives, or in perpetuity, and was exempted from most (and in some cases from all) of the duties with which the folkland was burdened. The estates of monasteries were bocland, and, so long as the monastic society existed, the land belonged to it. In order, therefore, to secure the advantages of this tenure, some nobles professed a desire to endow monasteries with the lands which they held as folkland. By presents or other means they induced the king and the witan (or national council) to sanction its conversion into bocland; they erected monastic buildings on it, and in these they lived with their wives and families, styling themselves abbots, but having nothing of the monastic character except the name and the tonsure.[g]

[e] Beda, iv. 19; v. 7; Baron. 709. 5.

[f] See Bede's account of Coldingham, iv. 25; Inett, i. 126-7; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 230.

[g] Beda, Ep. ad Egbert. c. 7; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 226-7, 407-413; Kemble, i. 292-304; ii. 225-8; Lappenb. i 578-80; Hallam, Supplem. Notes 264, and his quotation from Allen.

Among the men of letters whom the English church (or, indeed, the whole church) produced in this age, the most celebrated is Bede. The fame which he had attained in his own time is attested by the fact that he was invited to Rome by Sergius I., although the pope's death prevented the acceptance of the invitation;[h] and from the following century he has been commonly distinguished by the epithet of Venerable.[i] Born about the year 673,[k] in the neighbourhood of Jarrow, an offshoot from Benedict Biscop's abbey of Wearmouth, he became an inmate of the monastery at the age of seven, and there spent the remainder of his life. He tells us of himself that, besides the regular exercises of devotion, he made it his pleasure every day "either to learn or to teach or to write something."[l] He laboured assiduously in collecting and transmitting the knowledge of former ages, not only as to ecclesiastical subjects, but in general learning. His history of the English church comes down to the year 731,—within three years of his own death, which took place on the eve of Ascension-day 734, his last moments having been spent in dictating the conclusion of a version of St. John's Gospel.[m]

Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709, was distinguished as a divine and as a poet.[n] And Caedmon, originally a servant of St. Hilda's abbey at Streaneshalch, displayed in his native tongue poetical gifts which his contemporaries re-

[h] Will. Malmesb. 57-8. This has been questioned, as by Henschen, (Acta SS., Mar. 27, p. 712), and Lingard, (A. S. C. ii. 190-2, and note K); but see Sir T. D. Hardy's note on Malmesbury; Mr. Stevenson's Preface to transl. of Bede, xiv.-xvi. (where the writer retracts an opinion which he had before expressed against the story); Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 250. Comp. Mabillon, in Patrol. xc. 16.

[i] Stevenson, Preface, 22.

[k] Pagi, xii. 402. [l] Hist. v. 24.

[m] Cuthbert, Vita Bedæ (Patrol. xc. 41); Stevenson, Pref. to Bede, xvii. xix.; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 200, 416; Southey, Vindiciæ, c. iii.; Montalemb. v. 59.

[n] Acta SS. Mai. 25; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 184-9; Montalemb. v. 27, seqq. Aldhelm's works are in the Patrologia, lxxxix.

ferred to miraculous inspiration.[o] The Anglo-Saxons were the first nation which possessed a vernacular religious poetry; and it is remarked to the honour of the Anglo-Saxon poets, that their themes were not derived from the legends of saints, but from the narratives of Holy Scripture.[p]

VI. During this period much was done for the conversion of the Germanic tribes, partly by missionaries from the Frankish kingdom, but in a greater degree by zealous men who went forth from Britain or from Ireland. Of these, Columban and his disciple Gall, with their labours in Gaul and in Switzerland, have been already mentioned.[q]

(1) The conversion of the Bavarians has been commonly referred to the sixth century, so as to accord with the statement that Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, the correspondent of Gregory the Great, was a Bavarian princess, and had received an orthodox Christian training in her own land. But even if this statement be mistaken,[r] it is certain that the Bavarians had the advantage of settling in a country which had previously been Christian (for such it was even before the time of Severin);[s] and the remains of its earlier Christianity were not without effect on them.

In 613 a Frankish council, in consequence of reports which had reached it, sent Eustasius, the successor of Columban at Luxeuil, with a monk of his society named Agil, into Bavaria, where they found that many of the inhabitants were infected with heretical opinions, which are (perhaps somewhat incorrectly) described as the errors of Photinus or Bonosus.[t]

Beda, iv. 24; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 154-5; Southey, Vindic. 197, seqq.; Turner, Hist. Anglos. iii. 314-24.

[p] Milman, ii. 40-1; Giesel. I. ii. 501.

[q] Chap. i. above.

[r] Ib

[s] See Book III. c. v. sect. 5.

[t] Vita Agili, Acta SS., Aug. 30, c. 3; Jonas Vita Eustas. 3, seqq. (Patrol. lxxxvii.); Neand. v. 51-3; Rettb. ii. 187-9. See Acta SS., Aug. 30, p. 581. (For Photinus, see vol. i. p. 315; for Bonosus, vol. ii. p. 63.)

About the middle of the seventh century, Emmeran, a bishop of Aquitaine, was stirred by reports which reached him as to the heathenism of the Avars in Pannonia, to resign his see, with the intention of preaching the gospel in that country. Accompanied by an interpreter skilled in the Teutonic dialects, he made his way as far as Radaspona (Ratisbon), where he was kindly received by Theodo, duke of Bavaria. Theodo, who was already a Christian, represented to the bishop that the disturbed state of Pannonia rendered his undertaking hopeless; he entreated him to remain in Bavaria, where he assured him that his zeal would find abundant exercise; and when argument proved ineffectual, he forcibly detained him.[u] Emmeran regarded this as a providential intimation of his duty; and for three years he preached with great diligence to the Bavarians. At the end of that time he set out for Rome, but it is said that he was pursued, overtaken, and murdered by the duke's son, in revenge for the dishonour of a sister, which the bishop, although innocent, had allowed the princess and her paramour to charge on him.[x] A.D. 649-652.

In the end of the century, Rudbert, bishop of Worms, at the invitation of another duke named Theodo, undertook a mission into the same country, where he baptized the duke, and founded the episcopal city of Salzburg on the site of the old Roman Juvavium.[y] To the labours of Rudbert is chiefly due the establishment of Christianity in Bavaria. It would A.D. 696.

[u] M. Amédée Thierry thinks that Theodo wished, for political reasons, to prevent the conversion of the Avars. Hist. d'Attila, ii. 134-6.

[x] Vita Emmerammi, rewritten by Meginfred, in the 11th century (Patrol. cxli., or in Acta SS. Sept. 22, where the older Life, by Aribo, bishop of Freising, is also given). The story is full of improbabilities. See Schröckh, xix. 158; Rettb. ii. 191.

[y] Vita, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iii. 339, seqq.; Bouquet, iii. 632; Conversio Bagoariorum, c. i. ap. Pertz, i.; Pagi, xii. 271; Rettb. ii. 201.

seem, however, that he eventually returned to his original diocese of Worms.[z]

(2) The Christianity of the Thuringians has, like that of the Bavarians, been referred to the sixth century.[a] The country and its rulers were, however, still heathen, when, in the latter part of the seventh century, an Irish bishop named Kyllena or Kilian appeared in it at the head of a band of missionaries, and met with a friendly reception from the duke, Gozbert, whose residence was at Würzburg. After a time, it is said, Kilian went to Rome, and, having been authorized by pope Conon to preach wheresoever he would, he returned to Würzburg, where Gozbert now consented to be baptized. The duke, while yet a heathen, had married his brother's widow, Geilana; and, although he had not been required before baptism to renounce this union (which was sanctioned by the national customs), Kilian afterwards urged a separation as a matter of Christian duty. Gozbert was willing to make the sacrifice; but Geilana took advantage of his absence on a warlike expedition[c] to murder Kilian, with two companions who had adhered to him. The bodies of the martyrs were concealed, but their graves were illustrated by miracles; and the vengeance of Heaven pursued the ducal house, which speedily became extinct.[e]

A.D. 686.[b]

A.D. 689.[d]

[z] So Rettberg (ii. 210-11) infers from the words of the 'Conversio Bagoariorum'—"ad propriam remeavit sedem." But the editor in Pertz's collection, Dr. Wattenbach, supposes that Salzburg is meant. There has been much disputing whether Rudbert flourished in the sixth or in the seventh century; but it would seem that the earlier date is chiefly maintained, from motives of local partiality. See Acta SS., Mar. 27, p. 697; Pagi, xii. 155-8; Giesel. I. ii. 506; Rettb. ii. 193-9.

[a] See Schröckh, xvi. 264-5; Rettb. ii. 297-8.

[b] Pagi, xii. 89.

[c] This circumstance is said to be an interpolation in the Life. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ii. 992.

[d] Pagi, xii. 106.

[e] Vita Kiliani, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ii. 991-3. This story may be traced in its gradual growth, from the notice in Raban Maur's Martyrology (July 8, Patrol. cx.), through that of Notker (Patrol. cxxxi.), etc. Besides the legendary appearance of the part which relates to Gozbert and his family,

(3) The tribes to the north of France were visited by missionaries both from that country and from the British isles. Among the most eminent of these was Amandus, a native of Aquitaine, who was consecrated as a regionary (or missionary) bishop about the year 628, and laboured in the country near the Scheldt. The inhabitants are described as so ferocious that all the clergy who had attempted to preach to them had withdrawn in despair.[f] Amandus was fortified with a commission from king Dagobert, which authorized him to baptize the whole population by force; but he made little progress until, by recovering to life a man who had been hanged, he obtained the reputation of miraculous power.[g] In consequence of having ventured to reprove Dagobert for the number of his wives and concubines he was banished; but the king, on marrying a young queen, discarded the others, recalled Amandus, entreated his forgiveness, and, on the birth of a prince, engaged him to baptize the child. It is said that at the baptism, when no one responded to the bishop's prayer, the mouth of the little Sigebert, who was only forty days old, was opened to utter "Amen."[k] Amandus, who preferred the life of a missionary to that of a courtier, hastened to return to his old neighbourhood, where, although he had to endure

A.D. 629.[h]

A.D. 631.[i]

the expedition of an *Irish* bishop to Rome is a circumstance which savours of invention later than the time of Boniface. The only points which can be regarded as certain are the mission of Kilian and his murder in the neighbourhood of Würzburg. Rettb. ii. 304-7. See the notes on Usuard's Martyrology, Jul. 8 (Patrol. cxxiv.); Schröckh, xix. 144-7; Lanigan, iii. 115-21; Herzog, vii. 549.

[f] Vita S. Amandi, 6 (Patrol. lxxxvii.). There is also a metrical Life by Milo in vol. cxxi., and one in prose, written in the 12th century by Philip de Harveng, in vol. cciii. All these are given by the Bollandists, Feb. 6.

[g] Vita, 7-8; Neand. v. 54-6; Rettb. i. 554.

[h] Pagi, xi. 266-7.

[i] Ib. 337.

[k] Vita Amandi, 14-15; Gesta Dagob. 24 (Patrol. xcvi.); Vita Sigeb. 4-5 (ib. lxxxviii.). See the notes on the Acta SS., Feb. 1, p. 230, and Feb. 6, p. 862.

"Non confusa sonans alliso verba palato,
Sed labiis patulis et clara voce boando,
Insonuit populis mirantibus ocyus *Amen*."
Milo, iii. 10.

many hardships, with much enmity on the part of the heathen population, and was obliged to support himself by the work of his own hands, his preaching was now very effectual. After a time his zeal induced him to go as a missionary to the Slavonic tribes on the Danube; but, as he was received by them with an indifference which did not seem to promise either success or martyrdom, he once more resumed his labours in the region of the Scheldt, and, on the death of a bishop of Mastricht, he was appointed to that see in the year 647.[l] He found, however, so much annoyance both from the disorders of the clergy and from the character of the people, that he expressed to pope Martin a wish to resign the bishoprick. Martin, in a letter[m] which is significant as to the position of the Roman see, endeavoured to dissuade him from this desire. He requests Amandus to promulgate the decisions of the Lateran synod against the monothelites, which had just been held,[n] and, with a view to fortifying himself against the empire, he urges the bishop to aid him in strengthening the connexion of king Sigebert with Rome. Notwithstanding the pope's remonstrances, however, Amandus withdrew from his see, after having held it three years, and he spent the remainder of his days in superintending the monasteries which he founded.[o]

About the same time with Amandus, and in districts which bordered on the principal scene of his labours, two other celebrated missionaries were exerting themselves for the furtherance of the gospel. One of these was Livin, an Irishman, who became bishop of Ghent, and was martyred about the year 650;[p] the other was Eligius (or

[l] Vita, 9-10.

[m] Hard. iii. 945-8.

[n] See the preceding chapter.

[o] Vita, 10, 11, 16; Pagi, xi. 412, 423; Rettb. i. 555. In a written codicil, he directs that he should be buried in his monastery of Elnon, and imprecates curses on any one who should remove his bones. Patrol. lxxxvii. 1273.

[p] Vita S. Livini ap. Mabill., Acta SS. Ben. ii. 449 (wrongly ascribed to St. Boniface).

Eloy), bishop of Noyon. Eligius was originally a goldsmith, and, partly by skill in his art, but yet more by his integrity, gained the confidence of Clotaire II. He retained his position under Dagobert, to whom he became master of the mint, and coins of his workmanship are still extant.[q] While yet a layman he was noted for his piety. The Holy Scriptures and other religious books always lay open before him as he worked;[r] his wealth was devoted to religious and charitable purposes; he made pilgrimages to holy places; he built monasteries; he redeemed whole shiploads of captives—Romans, Gauls, Britons, Moors, and especially Saxons from Germany[s]—and endeavoured to train them to Christianity.[t] Such was his charity that strangers were directed to his house by being told that in a certain quarter they would see a crowd of poor persons around the pious goldsmith's door;[u] and already, it is said, his sanctity had been attested by the performance of many miracles.[x] After having spent some time in a lower clerical office, he was consecrated bishop of Noyon in 640, his friend and biographer Audoen (or Ouen) being at the same time consecrated to the see of Rouen.[y] The labours of Eligius extended to the neighbourhood of the Scheldt. The inhabitants of his wide diocese were generally rude and ferocious; part of them were heathens, while others were Christians only in name, and the bishop had to encounter many dangers, and to endure many insults at their hands.[z] His death took place in the year 659.[a]

[q] Vita S. Elig., i. 5, 9, 14 (Patrol. lxxxvii.)—ascribed to St. Ouen, but probably altered or re-written by a later hand (ib. 478; Rettb. ii. 508). Barthélemy, in his translation of the Life (Paris, 1847), gives engravings of some of the coins.

[r] See Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 87.

[s] See Barthélemy, note, p. 338.

[t] Vita, i. 10, 15-18, 21.

[u] Ib. 20, 37, &c.

[x] Ib. 22-31.

[y] Ib. ii. 2; Gallia Christ. quoted Patrol. lxxxvii. 485-6; Pagi, xi. 345.

[z] Vita, ii. 3, seqq.; Barthélemy, 358.

[a] The sermon of Eligius, 'De Rectitudine Catholicæ Conversationis'—or, rather the composition which his biographer gives as containing the essence of many of his sermons (Vita, ii. 16-5, Barthél. 412),—is celebrated on account

(4) Among the tribes which shared in the ministrations of Eligius were the Frisians, who then occupied a large tract of country.[b] The successful labours of Wilfrid among them at a later time (A.D. 678) have already been mentioned;[c] but the king whom he converted, Aldgis, was succeeded by a heathen, Radbod.[d] Wulfram, bishop of Sens, at the head of a party of monks, undertook a mission to the Frisians.[e] He found that they were accustomed to offer human sacrifices, the victims being put to death by hanging. In answer to the taunt that, if his story were true, the Saviour of whom he spoke[f] could recall them to life, Wulfram restored five men who had been executed; and after this display of power his preaching made many converts. Radbod had allowed one of his children to be baptized, and had himself consented to receive baptism; but, when one of his feet was already in the font, he adjured the bishop in God's name to tell him in which of the abodes which he had spoken of the former kings and nobles of the nation were. Wulfram replied, that the number of the elect is fixed, and that those who had died without baptism must necessarily be among the damned. "I would rather be there with my ancestors," said the king, "than in heaven with a handful of beggars;" and, drawing back his foot from the baptistery, he remained a heathen.[g]

of the injustice done to its character as a piece of Christian teaching by Mosheim, Maclaine, Principal Robertson, and other writers of the last century, whose misrepresentations have been often exposed, especially by Dr. Maitland, in his Letters on 'The Dark Ages' (vii.). It is printed not only in the Life of Eligius, but in the appendix to St. Augustine's works (Patrol. xl. 1169-90), and is said to be in great part derived from the sermons of St. Cæsarius of Arles, which were very popular in Gaul. Bähr, ii. 468.

[b] Vita, ii. 3. [c] Page 22.

[d] Rettb. ii. 502, 512.

[e] Life, by Jonas, in Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iii. 357, seqq. The date is uncertain. Pagi gives 689 (xii. 177); Baronius, 700; Döllinger, about 712 (i. 314). Neander thinks that Wulfram was probably later than Willibrord. v. 60. [f] "Christus tuus." Jonas, 6.

[g] Jonas, 9-11. Neander (v. 60) supposes that Radbod was not sincere in his desire of baptism, and that he spoke "in a half bantering way." But there is no trace of this in the original writer,

But the chief efforts for the conversion of the Frisians were made by missionaries from the British islands. Egbert, a pious Anglo-Saxon inmate of an Irish monastery (the same who afterwards persuaded the monks of Iona to adopt the Roman Easter),[h] conceived the idea of preaching to the heathens of Germany. He was warned by visions, and afterwards by the stranding of the vessel in which he had embarked, that the enterprise was not for him ; but his mind was still intent on it, and he resolved to attempt it by means of his disciples.[i] One of these, Wigbert, went into Frisia in 690, and for two years preached with much success. On his return, A.D. 692. Willibrord, a Northumbrian, who before proceeding into Ireland had been trained in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, set out at the head of twelve monks,—a further opening for their labours having been made by the victory which Pipin of Heristal, the virtual sovereign of Austrasia, had gained over Radbod at Dorstadt. Pipin received the missionaries with kindness, gave them leave to preach in that part of the Frisian territory which had been added to the Frankish kingdom, and promised to support them by his authority. After a time Willibrord repaired to Rome with a view of obtaining the papal sanction and instructions for his work, as also a supply of relics to be placed in the churches which he should build.[k] On his return, the work of conversion made such progress that Pipin wished to have him consecrated as archbishop of the district in which he had laboured, and for this

and his report of the adjurations which the king used is decisive against the supposition. That Radbod (as Jonas relates) died within three days after his rejection of baptism is certainly untrue ; and, as *two* versions of the main story are found, which differ considerably from each other, but agree in showing that one who is reprobate would, even at the last moment, be excluded from baptism and salvation, Rettberg thinks that the whole is an invention devised in behalf of the rigid predestinarian doctrine (ii. 515-16). In this he is followed by Ozanam, 167. See too the Acta SS., March 20.

[h] See p. 26.

[i] Beda, v. 9.

[k] Ib. 10-11 ; Alcuin. Vita Willib. i. 3-6 (Patrol. ci.).

purpose sent him a second time to Rome. The pope, Sergius, consented, and instead of Willibrord's barbaric name bestowed on him that of Clement. The archbishop's see was fixed at Wiltaburg,[l] and he appears to have succeeded in extirpating paganism from the Frankish portion of Frisia.[m] He also attempted to spread the gospel in the independent part of the country, and went even as far as Denmark, where, however, his labours had but little effect. In his return he landed on Heligoland, which was then called Fositesland, from a god named Forseti or Fosite.[n] The island was regarded as holy; no one might touch the animals which lived on it, nor drink, except in silence, of its sacred well: but in defiance of the popular superstition Willibrord baptized three converts in the well, and his companions killed some of the consecrated cattle. The pagan inhabitants, after having waited in vain expectation that the vengeance of the gods would strike the profane strangers with death or madness, carried them before Radbod, who was then in the island. Lots were cast thrice before any one of the party could be chosen for death. At length one was sacrificed, and Willibrord, after having denounced the errors of heathenism with a boldness which won Radbod's admiration, was sent back with honour to Pipin.[o] The renewal of war between Radbod and the Franks interfered for a time with the work of the missionaries. After the death of the pagan king in 719, circumstances were more favourable for the preaching of the

A.D. 696.

Utrecht then belonged to Radbod, while Wiltaburg, on the opposite side of the Rhine, was Frankish (Giesel. II. i. 24). It would seem, therefore, that Bede, who states that Pipin gave the archbishop Wiltaburg (v. 11), and Alcuin (i. 12), who says that Charles Martel gave him Utrecht (which had in the interval come into possession of the Franks, may both be right; and that Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. ii. 333), who sets Bede aside in favour of Alcuin, is mistaken in identifying the towns.

[m] Schröckh, xix. 152.

[n] He was supposed to be the son of Balder. Thorpe, Northern Mythology, i. 30.

[o] Alcuin, i. 9-10.

gospel in the independent part of Frisia ; and Willibrord continued in a course of active and successful exertion until his death in 739.[p] Among his fellow-labourers during a part of this time was Boniface, afterwards the apostle of Germany.

CHAPTER IV.

ICONOCLASM.

A.D. 717-775.

THE gradual advance of a reverence for images and pictures,[a] from the time when art began to be taken into the service of the church, has been related in the preceding volume.[b] But when it had reached a certain point, art had little to do with it. It was not by the power of form or colour that the religious images influenced the mind; it was not for the expression of ideal purity or majesty that one was valued above another, but for superior sanctity or for miraculous virtue.[c] Some were supposed to have fallen down from heaven ; some, to have been the work of the evangelist St. Luke ; and to others a variety of legends was attached. Abgarus, king of Edessa, it was said, when in correspondence with our Lord,[d] commissioned a painter to take His likeness. But the artist, dazzled by the glory of the countenance, gave up the attempt ; whereupon the Saviour himself impressed his image on a piece of linen, and sent it to the king. This tale

[p] Rettb. ii. 520-1. 9. See Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 22.

[a] In the account of the controversies as to "images," the word will be used to express paintings and mosaics as well as works of sculpture.

[b] Pp. 49-51 ; Book III. c. viii. sect. iv. 3.

[c] Milman, ii. 90-3.

[d] See vol. i. p. 4.

was unknown to Eusebius, although he inserted the pretended correspondence with Abgarus in his history;[e] and the image was said, in consequence of the apostasy of a later king, to have been built up in a wall at Edessa, until, after a concealment of five centuries, it was discovered by means of a vision. By it, and by a picture of the blessed Virgin, "not made with hands," the city was saved from an attack of the Persians.[f] Cloths of a like miraculous origin (as was supposed) were preserved in other places;[g] and many images were believed to perform cures and other miracles, to exude sweat or odoriferous balsam, to bleed, to weep, or to speak.

When images had become objects of popular veneration, the cautions and distinctions by which divines attempted to regulate this feeling were found unavailing. Three hundred years before the time which we have now reached, Augustine, while repelling the charge of idolatry which was brought against the church, had felt himself obliged to acknowledge that many of its members were nevertheless "adorers of pictures;"[h] and the superstition had grown since Augustine's day. It became usual to fall down before images, to pray to them, to kiss them, to burn lights and incense in their honour, to adorn them with gems and precious metals, to lay the hand on them in swearing, and even to employ them as sponsors at baptism.[i]

The moderate views of Gregory the Great as to the use and the abuse of images have been already mentioned.[k]

[e] i. 13. Procopius, two centuries later, says that our Lord was popularly believed to have promised that Edessa should be impregnable (De Bello Pers. ii. 12); but he does not mention the image.

[f] Evagrius, v. 27; Cedren. 176-7.

[g] Gibbon, iv. 465-7; Neand. v. 278. Heraclius took one with him in his Persian expedition. Georg. Pisida de Exp. Pers. i. 139, seqq. (Patrol. Gr. xcii.).

[h] See vol. ii. p. 50.

[i] Basnage, 1335; Schröckh. xx. 515-16; Neand. v. 278; Schlosser, 410.

[k] Chap. i. To the same purpose is part of another letter, which, however, labours under suspicion—ix. 52, ad Secundinum.

But although, of the two kindred superstitions, the reverence for relics was more characteristic of the western, and that for images of the eastern church,[l] the feeling of the west in behalf of images was now increased, and the successors of Gregory were ready to take a decided part in the great ecclesiastical and political movements which arose out of the subject.

Leo the Isaurian, who had risen from the class of substantial peasantry through the military service of Justinian II., until in 717[m] he was raised by general acclamation to the empire, was a man of great energy, and, as even his enemies the ecclesiastical writers do not deny, was possessed of many noble qualities, and of talents which were exerted with remarkable success both in war and in civil administration.[n] In the beginning of his reign he was threatened by the Arabs, whose forces besieged Constantinople both by land and sea; but he destroyed their fleet by the new invention of the "Greek fire,"[o] compelled the army to retire with numbers much diminished by privation and slaughter, and by a succession of victories delivered his subjects from the fear of the Saracens for many years.[p]

It was not until after he had secured the empire against foreign enemies that Leo began to concern himself with the affairs of religion. In the 6th year of his reign[q] he issued an edict ordering that Jews and Montanists should be forcibly baptized. The Jews submitted in hypocrisy, and mocked at the rites which they had undergone.[r] The Montanists, with the old fanaticism of the sect whose name they bore,[s] appointed a day on which,

[l] Neand. v. 278.

[m] Theophan. 600-6; Pagi, xii. 263; Finlay, ii. 17, 29.

[n] Gibbon, iv. 410-11; Schlosser, 140-2; Finlay, vol. ii. c. 1.

[o] As to this, see Gibbon, iv. 182-4.

[p] Niceph. Cpol. 35; Theophan. 607-13; Finlay, ii. 17-22.

[q] Schlosser, 161. I have generally followed this writer as to the order and dates of the proceedings under Leo.

[r] See Schröckh, xix. 316.

[s] Whether they were the same with the Montanists of earlier history, is a

by general consent, they shut themselves up in their meeting-houses, set fire to the buildings, and perished in the flames.[t]

From these measures it is evident that Leo seriously misconceived the position of the temporal power in matters of religion, as well as the means which might rightly be used for the advancement of religious truth. In the following year, after a consultation with his officers, he made his first attempt against the superstitious use of images.[u] The motives of this proceeding are matter of conjecture.[x] It is said that he was influenced by Constantine, bishop of Nacolia, and by a counsellor named Bezer, who had for a time been in the service of the caliph, and is described as an apostate from the faith.[y] Perhaps these persons may have represented to him the difficulties which this superstition opposed to the conversion of Jews and Mahometans, who regarded it as heathenish and idolatrous :[z] they may, too, have set before him the risk of persecution which it must necessarily bring on the Christian subjects of the caliphs.[a] Leo had seen that towns which relied on their miraculous images had fallen a prey to the arms of the Saracens, and that even the tutelar image of Edessa had been carried off by these enemies of the cross.[b] And when, by whatsoever means, a question on

A.D. 724.

question. Dean Milman supposes them to have been probably Manichæans; Baronius also thinks that they may have been Manichæans, and supposes that they were called Montanists (Μοντανούς, Theophan. 617) from having been driven to take refuge among the mountains (722. 1). But see Pagi's note to the contrary. The sect may have been identical with the early Montanists, although its doctrines may have undergone much change in the course of five centuries and a half. Peter of Sicily, however, in the 9th century, mentions the Montanists as distinct from the Manichæans. P. 42, ed Rader.

[t] Theophan. 614.

[u] Schlosser, 166. The chronology is doubtful. See Hefele, iii. 345, who questions the statements as to a consultation. 346.

[x] See Walch, x. 204; Gfrörer, ii. 102.

[y] Theophan. 617-18.

[z] Walch, x. 216-18; Schlosser, 161. See Hefele, iii. 343.

[a] Spanheim, 'Hist. Imaginum Restituta,' (Miscellanea Sacræ Antiquitatis, i. 729, Lugd. Bat. 1703).

[b] Gibbon, iv. 467. It is said to have

the subject had been suggested, the inconsistency of the popular usages with the letter of Holy Scripture was likely to strike forcibly a direct and untutored mind like that of the emperor.[c] But in truth it would seem—and more especially if we compare Leo's measures against images with those which he took against Judaism and Montanism—that his object was as much to establish an ecclesiastical autocracy as to purify the practice of the church.[d]

The earlier controversies had shown that the multitude could be violently agitated by subtle questions of doctrine which might have been supposed unlikely to excite their interest. But here the matter in dispute was of a more palpable kind. The movement did not originate with a speculative theologian, but with an emperor, acting on his own will, without being urged by any party, or by any popular cry. An attack was made on material and external objects of reverence, on practices which were bound up with men's daily familiar religion, and by means of which the sincere, although unenlightened, piety of the age was accustomed to find its expression. It merely proposed to abolish, without providing any substitute for that which was abolished, without directing the mind to any better and more spiritual worship; and at once the people, who had already been provoked to discontent by some measures of taxation, rose in vehement and alarming commotion against it. The controversy which had occupied the church for a century was now forgotten, and monothelites were absorbed among the orthodox when both parties were thrown together by an assault on the objects of their common veneration.[e]

been bought from the Saracens, and transferred to Constantinople by the emperor Romanus Lecapenus, (Cedren. 178). The possession of it is now contested between Genoa and the church of St. Sylvester on the Quirinal at Rome. Wadding, v. 146; Gregorov. ii. 260; Herzog, art. *Abgarus*.

[c] Giesel. II. i. 2.

[d] Finlay, ii. 10, 67.

[e] Baron. 722. 3; Walch, x. 73; Schröckh, xx. 513; Neand. v. 273,

Leo would seem to have been utterly unprepared for the excitement which followed on the publication of his edict, and he attempted to allay it by an explanation. It was not, he said, his intention to do away with images, but to guard against the abuse of them, and to protect them from profanation, by removing them to such a height that they could not be touched or kissed.[f] But the general discontent was not to be so easily pacified, and events soon occurred which added to its intensity. A Saracen army, which had advanced as far as Nicæa, was believed to have been repulsed by the guardian images of the city.[g] A volcanic island was thrown up in the Ægean, and the air was darkened with ashes—prodigies which, while the emperor saw in them a declaration of heaven against the idolatry of his subjects, the monks, who had possession of the popular mind, interpreted as omens of wrath against his impious proceedings.[h] The monastic influence was especially strong among the islanders of the Archipelago. These rose in behalf of images; they set up one Cosmas as a pretender to the throne, and an armed multitude, in an ill-equipped fleet, appeared before Constantinople. But the Greek fire discomfited the disorderly assailants; their leaders were taken and put to death;[i] and Leo, provoked by the resistance which his edict had met with, issued a second and more stringent decree, ordering that all images should be destroyed, and that the place of such as were painted on the walls of churches should be washed over.[k]

A.D. 726.

The emperor, relying on the pliability which had been shown on some former occasions by Germanus, patriarch

306; Döllinger, i. 348; Giesel. II. i. 5-6; Milman, ii. 87-9; Finlay, ii. 43.

[f] Goldast. 'Imperialia Decreta de Cultu Imaginum,' Francof. 1608, p. 16; Baron. 726. 1-5; Schlosser, 167. Walch (x. 225-6) and Hefele (iii. 347) question this.

[g] Theophan. 624.

[h] Nic. Cpol. 37.

[i] Theophan. 624; Schlosser, 170-1.

[k] Gibbon, iv. 468. See Walch, x. 225-6.

of Constantinople,[1] had made repeated attempts to draw him into the measures against images.[m] But Germanus, who was now ninety-five years of age, was not to be shaken. He reminded Leo of the oath which he had taken at his coronation, to make no innovations in religion. It is said that in a private interview the patriarch professed a conviction that images were to be abolished, "but," he added, "not in your reign." "In whose reign, then?" asked Leo. "In that of an emperor named Conon, who will be the forerunner of Antichrist." "Conon," said the emperor, "is my own baptismal name."[n] Germanus argued that images were meant to represent, not the Trinity, but the incarnation; that, since the Saviour's appearance in human form, the Old Testament prohibitions were no longer applicable; that the church had not in any general council condemned the use of images: and he referred to the Edessan impression of our Lord's countenance, and to the pictures painted by St. Luke. "If I am a Jonas," he said, "throw me into the sea. Without a general council I can make no innovation on the faith." He refused to subscribe the new edict, and resigned his see, to which his secretary Anastasius was appointed.[o] Jan. 730.

A serious disturbance soon after took place on the removal of a noted statue of the Saviour, which stood over the "Brazen Gate" of the imperial palace, and was known by the name of "the Surety."[p] This figure was the subject of many marvellous legends, and was held in great veneration by the A.D. 730.

[1] Giesel. II. i. 3.

[m] See the letters of Germanus, Hard. iv. 240-61.

[n] Theophan. 626-7. Against this story see Basnage, ii. 1345. For the legend of the promise to Conon that he should be emperor, see Finlay, ii. 29-32.

[o] Nic. Cpol. 38; Vita Steph. jun. in Patrol. Gr. tom. c. col. 1085; Theophan. 626-9; Baron. 726. 6; Pagi, xii. 387-8; Walch, x. 172, 182, 240; Schlosser, 175-6.

[p] Ἀντιφωνητής. This name was derived from a tale of its having miracu-

people. When, therefore, a soldier was commissioned to take it down, crowds of women rushed to the place, and clamorously entreated him to spare it. He mounted a ladder, however, and struck his axe into the face; whereupon they dragged down the ladder, and tore in pieces the man who had dared to assail the object of their reverence.[q] The women were now excited to frenzy, and, having been joined by a mob of the other sex, rushed to the new patriarch's house with the intention of murdering him. Anastasius took refuge in the palace, and the emperor sent out his guards, who suppressed the commotion, but not without considerable bloodshed.[r] "The Surety" was taken down, and its place was filled with an inscription, in which the emperor gave vent to his enmity against images.[s]

This incident was followed by some proceedings against the popular party. Many were scourged, mutilated or banished; and the persecution fell most heavily on the monks, who were especially obnoxious to the emperor, both as leaders in the resistance to his measures, and because the images were for the most part of their manufacture. Leo is charged with having rid himself of his controversial opponents by shutting up schools for general education which had existed since the time of the first Christian emperor,[t] and even by burning a splendid library, with the whole college of professors who were attached to it.[u]

lously become security for a pious sailor who had occasion to borrow money Hefele, iii. 348.

[q] Gregor. II. ap. Hard. iv. 11.

[r] Theophan. 622-3. See the various accounts in Walch, x. 178-80. The women and other partisans of images who perished on this occasion were afterwards canonized. Acta SS., Aug. 9; Schlosser, 178-9.

[s] Theod. Studita, p. 136. G. Hamartolus tells us that the emperor wrote on an image of Christ, "O Saviour, save thyself and us!" and threw it into the sea, which rebuked his impiety by conveying the image safely to Rome. cxlviii. 15.

[t] Theophan. 623.

[u] G. Hamart. cxlviii. 13; Cedren. 454. Spanheim, who defends the iconoclasts against all accusations, asserts that this is a fiction of the 11th century. Hamartolus, whose chronicle was un-

But beyond the emperor's dominions the cause of images found a formidable champion in John of Damascus, the most celebrated theologian of his time.[x] John, according to his legendary biographer, a patriarch of Jerusalem who lived two centuries later, was a civil officer, high in the service of the caliph of Damascus, when his writings against the emperor's measures provoked Leo to attempt his destruction.[y] A letter was counterfeited in imitation of his handwriting, containing an offer to betray Damascus to the Greeks, and this (which was represented as one of many such letters) Leo enclosed to the caliph, with expressions of abhorrence against the pretended writer's treachery. The caliph, without listening to John's disavowals of the charge, or to his entreaties for a delay of judgment, ordered his right hand to be cut off, and it was exposed in the market-place until evening, when John requested that it might be given to him, in order that by burying it he might relieve the intolerable pain which he suffered while it hung in the air. On recovering it, he prostrated himself before an image of the Virgin Mother, prayed that, as he had lost his hand for the defence of images, she would restore it, and vowed thenceforth to devote it to her service. He then lay

known to Spanheim, shows that the story was current in the 9th century; but his manner of introducing it (φασὶ δέ τινες πιστότατοι ἄνδρες) is suspicious. Basnage (1346) says that the library was really destroyed by an accidental fire, which he places under Basiliscus, and Mr. Finlay under Leo (ii. 52). Walch regards the tale as fabulous (as does also Hefele, iii. 346), but thinks that the schools may have been suspended for a time by Leo (x. 184, 231-4). Schlosser, however, upholds it. 163-4.

[x] Baron. 727, 18-20. John was author of the earliest work of systematic theology, 'A Correct Exposition of the Orthodox Faith.' (Ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως.) This was long the standard authority in the Greek church. In the west, it became known from the 12th century by a Latin translation, and John is considered as the ancestor of the schoolmen. Schröckh, xx. 230-327; Hampden, Bampt. Lect. 44; Hagenbach, i 390-1; Gfrörer, ii. 107; Giesel. vi. 438.

[y] Vita Joh. Damascen. 15-20, in his works, ed. Le Quien, Paris, 1712, t. i. pp. x.-xiii. Against this tale, see Basnage, 1279; Spanheim, i. 740. The Bollandists seem to believe it on the ground that there is a picture of it. Acta SS., Mai. 6, p. 115.

down to sleep; the "Theotokos" appeared to him in a vision, and in the morning the hand was found to be reunited to his arm. The caliph, convinced of John's innocence by this miracle, requested him to remain in his service; but John betook himself to the monastery of St. Sabbas, near Jerusalem, where the monks, alarmed at the neophyte's great reputation, were perplexed how to treat him, and subjected him to a variety of degrading, and even disgusting, trials. But his spirit of obedience triumphed over all; he was admitted into the monastery, and was afterwards advanced to the order of presbyter.

Of the three orations in which John of Damascus asserted the cause of images, two were written before, and the third after, the forced resignation of Germanus.[z] He argues that images were forbidden to the Jews lest they should fall into the error of their heathen neighbours, or should attempt to represent the invisible Godhead; but that, since the Saviour's incarnation, these reasons no longer exist, and we must not be in bondage to the mere letter of Scripture.[a] True it is that Scripture does not prescribe the veneration of images; but neither can we read there of the Trinity, or of the coessentiality, as distinctly set forth; and images stand on the same ground with these doctrines, which have been gathered by the fathers from the Scriptures. Holy Scripture countenances images by the directions for the making of the cherubim, and also by our Lord's words as to the tribute-money. As that which bears Cæsar's image is Cæsar's, and is to be rendered to him; so, too, that which bears Christ's image is to be rendered to Christ, forasmuch as it is Christ's.[b] That images are material, is no good reason for refusing to reverence them; for the holy places are material, the ink and the parchment of the Gospels are material, the

[z] Walch, x. 176.
[a] Orat. i. 7, 8, 16; ii. 7, 8.
[b] Orat. i. 20; ii. 20, 21; iii. 11.

eucharistic table, its vessels and its ornaments,—nay, the very body and blood of the Saviour,—are material.[e] "I do not," says John, "adore the matter, but the Author of matter, who for my sake became material, that by matter He might work out my salvation."[d] Images, he continues, are for the unlearned what books are for those who can read; they are to the sight what speech is to the ears.[e] He distinguishes between that sort of worship which is to be reserved for God alone,[f] and that which for His sake is given to His angels and saints or to consecrated things.[g] He rejects the idea that, if the images of the Saviour and of the blessed Virgin are to be allowed, those of the saints should be abolished; if (he holds) the festivals of the saints are kept, if churches are dedicated in their honour, so too ought their images to be reverenced.[h] He adduces a host of authorities from the fathers, with much the same felicity as his quotations from Scripture,[i] while the story of Epiphanius and the painted curtain,[k] which had been alleged by the iconoclasts, is set aside on the ground that the letter which contains it might be a forgery, or that Epiphanius might have intended to guard against some unrecorded local abuse; that the Cypriot bishop's own church still used images, and that, in any case, the act of an individual does not bind the whole church.[l] John denies that the emperor has any authority to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs:—"The well-being of the state," he says, "pertains to princes, but the ordering of the church to pastors and teachers"; and he threatens Leo with scriptural examples of judgment against those who invaded the rights of the church.[m]

[e] Orat. ii. 14; cf. i. 15.
[d] Ib. i. 16.
[e] Ib. 17.
[f] Λατρεία, *service*.
[g] Orat. i. 14; iii. 16-39.
[h] Ib. i. 19, 21; ii. 11, 15.
[i] Ib. i. 27, seqq.; ii. 23; iii. 39. See Dupin, vi. 102; Schröckh, xx. 547-8.
[k] See vol. ii. p. 49.
[l] Orat. i. 26. In ii. 18, he says absolutely that the letter is forged.
[m] Orat. ii. 12.

In Italy the measures of Leo produced a great agitation. The allegiance of that country had long been gradually weakening. The exarchs were known to the people only as tax-gatherers who drained them of their money, and sent it off to Constantinople; for defence against the Lombards or other enemies, the Italian subjects of the empire were obliged to rely on themselves, without any expectation of effective help from the emperor or his lieutenant.[n] The pope was the virtual head of the Italians; and the connexion which the first Gregory and his successors had laboured to establish with the Frankish princes, as a means of strengthening themselves against the empire, had lately been rendered more intimate by the agency of the great missionary Boniface.[o] But the ancient and still undiminished hatred with which the Romans regarded their neighbours the Lombards weighed against the motives which might have disposed the popes to take an opportunity of breaking with the empire; and Gregory II., although he violently opposed Leo on the question of images, yet acted in some sort the part of a mediator between him and his Italian subjects.[p]

Gregory, on receiving the edicts against images, rejected them. The people of Ravenna expelled the exarch, who sought a refuge at Pavia. Liutprand, king of the Lombards, eagerly took advantage of the disturbances to pour his troops into the imperial territory, and, sometimes in hostility to the exarch, sometimes in combination with him against the pope, endeavoured to profit by the dissensions of his neighbours. One exarch was killed in the course of the commotions. The pope, hoping for the conversion of Leo (as it is said by writers in the Roman interest[q]),

A.D. 726-730.

[n] Schröckh, xix. 518: Milman, ii. 143.
[o] Schröckh, xix. 519-20. See the next chapter.
[p] Schlosser, 172-4.
[q] Anastas. 156.

restrained the Italians from setting up a rival emperor; and when Liutprand, in alliance with a new exarch, appeared before the walls of Rome, he went out to him, and prevailed on the Lombard king to give up his design against the city. Thus far, therefore, it would appear that the emperor was chiefly indebted to Gregory for the preservation of his Italian dominions.[r] But the relations between these potentates were of no friendly kind. It is said that repeated attempts were made by Leo's order to assassinate Gregory; perhaps the foundation of the story may have been that, as the pope himself states, there was an intention of carrying him off to the east, as Martin had been carried off in the preceding century.[s] On the resignation of the patriarch Germanus, Gregory refused to acknowledge his successor,[t] and wrote to Leo in a style of vehement defiance.[u] He urges the usual arguments in behalf of images, and reproaches the emperor with his breach of the most solemn engagements. "We must," he says, "write to you grossly and rudely, forasmuch as you are illiterate and gross. . . . Go into our elementary schools, and say, 'I am the overthrower and persecutor of images'; and forthwith the children will cast their tablets at you, and you will be taught by the unwise that which you refuse to learn from the wise." Leo, he

[r] Anastas. 157; P. Warnefr. de Gestis Langob. vi. 49. The history of these movements is very intricate, and is full of matter for dispute. Dean Milman's account (ii. 204-7) is the clearest. See also Baron. 726. 25, seqq.: Walch, x. 248-55, 280; Schröckh, xix. 52, seqq.; Schlosser, 167-9; Giesel. II. i. 32-3; Hefele, iii. 352, seqq.

[s] Greg. II. ap. Hard. iv. 11; Anastas. 156-7; Walch, x. 283-5; Schröckh xix. 521; xx. 548.

[t] Schlosser, 177.

[u] His two letters (Hard. iv 1-18) were first published by Baronius (xii. 346-59), but were wrongly referred by him to the year 726, whereas they were really written about 729, according to Muratori (IV. i. 343) and Jaffé, or within the last four months of 730, according to Pagi (xii. 345, 390). Hefele, however, is inclined to agree with Baronius as to the earlier of the letters (iii. 370-2). Their genuineness has been questioned, but is generally allowed. Walch, x. 174; Schröckh xx. 535-6.

says, had boasted of being like Uzziah ;[x] that, as the Jewish king destroyed the brazen serpent after it had existed 800 years, so he himself had cast out images after a like time ; and the pope, without raising any question either as to Jewish or Christian history, makes him welcome to the supposed parallel. It would, he says, be less evil to be called a heretic than an iconoclast ; for the infamy of the heretic is known to few, and few understand his offence ; but here the guilt is palpable and open as day. Leo had proposed a council, as a means of settling the question ; but he is told that the proposal is idle, inasmuch as, if a council were gathered, he is unfit to take the part of a religious emperor in it. To say, as he had said, "I am emperor and priest," might become one who had protected and endowed the church, but not one who had plundered it, and had drawn people away from the pious contemplation of images to frivolous amusements : emperors are for secular matters, priests for spiritual. The pope mocks at the threat of carrying him off to Constantinople ; he has but to withdraw twenty-four furlongs from the walls of Rome into Campania, and his enemies would have to pursue the winds. Why, it had been asked, had the six general councils said nothing of images? As well, replies Gregory, might you ask why they said nothing of common food and drink ; images are matters of traditional and unquestioned use ; the bishops who attended the councils carried images with them. The emperor is exhorted to repent, and is threatened with judgments ; he is charged to take warning from the fate of the monothelite Constans, and from the glory of that prince's victims, the martyrs Maximus and Martin.

The sequel of Gregory's proceedings is matter of controversy. Extreme Romanists and their extreme

[x] The mistake will be readily seen.

opponents agree in stating that the pope excommunicated the emperor, withdrew his Italian subjects from their allegiance, and forbade the payment of tribute—by the rightful exercise of apostolical authority according to one party; by an anti-Christian usurpation according to the other.[y] But more temperate inquirers have shown that these representations are incorrect. The popes of that age made no pretension to the right of dethroning princes or of absolving subjects from their allegiance; Gregory, in his second letter, while he denies that the emperor is entitled to interfere with the church, expressly disclaims the power of interfering with the sovereign: and the story as to the withdrawal of tribute seems to have grown out of the fact of a popular resistance to an impolitic increase of taxation.[z] Although Gregory condemned iconoclasm, it appears that he did not pronounce any excommunication against the emperor; and even if he excommunicated him, the sentence would have been unheeded by the church of Constantinople. The utmost that can be established, therefore, appears to be, that, by raising a cry against Leo as a heretic and a persecutor, he rendered him odious to his Italian subjects, and so paved the way for that separation from the empire which followed within half a century.[a]

[y] Baronius says that the pope, after long forbearance, found that it was time to lay the axe to the root of the tree, and to say, "Cut it down"; thus giving his successors an example not to suffer obstinately heretical princes to reign (730. 5). See also Bellarmine, De Rom. Pontif. v. 8; and, on the extreme protestant side, the Magdeburg Centuries, Cent. VIII., pp. 380, 518 (ed. Basil. 1624); or Spanheim, 732-4. The foundation of this account comes from the Greek writers, as Theophanes (621-9), and G. Hamartolus (cxlviii. 18), but it was afterwards adopted by Latin writers of the middle ages. In answer to the revival of it by Gregorovius (ii. 255), see Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 153-4.

[z] Pagi, xii. 390; Walch, x. 249 (who, however, questions whether there were any *new* tax); Milman, ii. 150; Hefele, iii. 358.

[a] See Nat. Alex. xi. 169-74; De Marca, III. xi. 3; Muratori, Ann. IV. i. 342; Pagi, xii. 390; Walch, x. 263-75, 280-2; Giannone, i. 405-7; Gibbon, iv. 473-4; Schröckh, xix. 522-7; xx. 531; note in Mosheim, ii. 164; Milman, ii. 147-9; Hefele, iii. 358-9.

In the following year Gregory II. was succeeded by a third pope of the same name, for whom it was still held necessary that, before his consecration, the election should be confirmed by the exarch.[b] Gregory III., a Syrian by birth, was zealous in the cause of images, and laboured to increase the popular veneration of them. He remonstrated with Leo against his iconoclastic proceedings, and held a council of ninety-eight bishops, which anathematized all the enemies of images, but without mentioning the emperor by name.[c] Leo, indignant at the pope's audacity, imprisoned his envoys, and resolved to send a fleet to reduce Italy into better subjection. But the fleet was disabled by storms, and the emperor was obliged to content himself with confiscating the papal revenues (or "patrimony") in Sicily, Calabria, and other parts of his dominions, and transferring Greece and Illyricum from the Roman patriarchate to that of Constantinople.[d]

Feb. 731.

Nov. 731.

A.D. 733.

Gregory III. was succeeded in 741 by Zacharias, and Leo by his son Constantine, whose reign extended to the unusual length of thirty-four years. This prince (who is commonly distinguished by the name *Copronymus*, derived from his having in infancy polluted the baptismal font)[e] is charged by the ecclesiastical writers with monstrous vices, and with the practice of magical arts;[f] while his apologists contend that he was remarkably chaste and temperate.[g] The characteristics which are beyond all controversy are his vigour, his ability, and his cruelty.[h] In war he successfully defended his empire against

[b] Pagi in Patrol. lxxxix. 559; Milman, ii. 150.

[c] Anastas. 158; Walch, x. 175; Schröckh, xx. 548.

[d] Hadrian I. in Patrol. xcviii. 1292; Pagi, xii. 731; Walch, x. 262; Schlosser, 190-5; Giesel. II. . 33.

[e] Theophan. 613. This story has, however, been questioned, and other reasons have been given for the name. See Ducange, s. v. *Caballinus*.

[f] Theophan. 636, 685, 694.

[g] Basnage, 1356-7; Walch, x. 361.

[h] Theophan. 683-5.

Saracens, Bulgarians, and other enemies, and under him its internal administration was greatly improved.[i]

The difficulties in which Constantine was involved by the Saracen war, and by the discontents arising out of the question as to images, encouraged his brother-in-law Artavasdus to pretend to the throne; it would seem, indeed, that he was almost forced into this course by the emperor's jealousy.[k] Artavasdus appealed to the popular affection for images, and restored them in all places of which he got possession. He was crowned by the patriarch Anastasius, who, holding the cross in his hands, publicly swore that Constantine had avowed to him a belief that our Lord was a mere man, born in the ordinary way.[l] Pope Zacharias acknowledged Artavasdus as emperor;[m] but, after having maintained his claim for three years, the rival of Constantine was put down, and he and his adherents were punished with great severity. Anastasius was blinded, and was exhibited in the hippodrome, mounted on an ass, with his face towards the tail; yet after this Constantine restored him to the patriarchate—by way, it would seem, of proclaiming his contempt for the whole body of the clergy.[n]

It is said that Constantine expressed Nestorian opinions, and a disbelief in the intercession of the blessed Virgin and of the saints. But if so, the words were spoken in conferences which were intended to be secret; and it was the emperor's policy to feel his way carefully before taking any public step in matters of religion.[o] On the question as to images, he wished to strengthen himself by the authority of a general council, and summoned one to meet in the year 754, having in the preceding

[i] Gibbon, iv. 411-12; Schlosser, 222-4.

[k] Ib. 201.

[l] Theophan. 639.

[m] He dated by the year of Artavasdus' reign, *e.g.*, Ep. 6 (Patrol. lxxxix.). But this, says Hefele, did not imply partisanship. iii. 378.

[n] Theophan. 647-8; Milman, ii. 110.

[o] Theophan. 671, 678; Neand. v. 307. See Gfrörer, ii. 139.

year desired that, by way of preparation, the subject should be discussed by the provincial assemblies of bishops.[p] The see of Constantinople was then vacant by the death of Anastasius—a circumstance which may have tended to secure the ready compliance of some who aspired to fill it.[q] The remaining three patriarchs of the east were under the Mahometan dominion, and Stephen of Rome disregarded the imperial citation. In the absence of all the patriarchs, therefore, the bishops of Ephesus and Perga presided over the council, which was held in a palace on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, with the exception of the final sitting, which took place in the church of the Blachernæ.[r] The number of bishops, although collected from the emperor's dominions only, amounted to three hundred and thirty-eight,[s] and their decisions, after sessions which lasted from February to August, are described as unanimous—a proof rather of the subjection in which the episcopate was held than of any real conviction.

The assembled bishops professed to rest their judgment on the authority of the fathers, from whose writings extracts were read. They declared all representations made for religious purposes by the art of painter or sculptor to be presumptuous, heathenish, and idolatrous.[t] Those who make such representations of the Saviour, it is said, either limit the incomprehensible God to the bounds of created flesh, or confound the natures, like Eutyches, or deny the Godhead, like Arius, or, with Nestorius, separate it from the manhood so as to make two persons.[u] The eucharist alone is declared to be a

[p] Basnage, 1354.

[q] This remark of Schlosser (213) seems more reasonable than that of Spanheim (754),—that, if Constantine had wished to influence the council, he would have filled the patriarchal throne with a tool.

[r] Theophan. 59, ed. Paris; Schlosser, 213. Its definitions are in the sixth session of the second council of Nicæa, Hard. iv. 325, seqq.

[s] Ib. 345.

[t] Ib. 380, 415.

[u] Ib. 260-1

proper image of the Saviour—the union of the Divine grace with the material elements typifying that of the Godhead with his human form.[x] All images, therefore, are to be removed out of churches. Bishops, priests, or deacons contravening the decisions of the council, whether by invoking images, by worshipping them, by setting them up, or by secretly keeping them, are to be deposed; monks and lay persons offending in like manner are to be excommunicated.[y] But it was ordered that no one should deface or meddle with sacred vessels or vestments, under pretext of their being adorned with figures, unless by permission of the emperor or of the patriarch; and that no person in authority should despoil churches on this account, as had already been done in some instances.[z] With a view perhaps of clearing themselves from the aspersions which were thrown on the emperor's faith, the bishops formally declared the lawfulness of invoking the blessed Virgin and the saints.[a] And they pronounced anathemas against all religious art,[b] anathematizing by name some noted defenders of images—Germanus, George of Cyprus, and John of Damascus, whom they designated by the name of *Mansour*,[c] loaded with a profusion of dishonourable epithets, and denounced with a threefold curse.[d]

Fortified by the decisions of the council, Constantine now ordered that all images should be removed. For the religious paintings on church walls, he ordered that other subjects—such as birds and fruits, or scenes from the chase, the theatre, and the circus—should be substi-

[x] Hard. iv. 368-9. The inconsistency of this with the later Roman doctrine is evident, as otherwise the humanity would be *docetic*.

[y] Ib. 416-17. [z] Ib. 420-1.

[a] Ib. 429, 432. [b] Ib. 424, seqq.

[c] It would seem that this was the name of John's father, or was slightly varied from it, but was intended to be understood as meaning a *bastard*. See Theophan. 342, ed. Paris; Georg. Hamart. pp. 639, 651; Cedren. 456; Acta SS., Mai. 6, p. 108; Ducange, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græcitatis, *s. v.* Μανσοὺρ; Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. ix. 685.

[d] Hard. iv. 437; Theophan. 643.

tuted.[e] He required the clergy and the more noted monks to subscribe the decrees of the synod ;[f] and at a later time an oath against images was exacted from all the inhabitants of the empire.[g] It does not appear that any of the bishops refused to comply ; but the monks were violent and obstinate in their resistance, and the emperor endeavoured to subdue them by the most barbarous cruelties.[h] The zeal of the monks in behalf of images provoked him even to attempt the extirpation of monachism by forcing them to abandon their profession.[i] Thus we read that a number of monks were compelled to appear in the hippodrome at Constantinople, each holding by the hand a woman of disreputable character, and so to stand while the populace mocked at them and spit on them.[k] The new patriarch, Constantine, whom the emperor had presented to the council as the successor of Anastasius on the last day of its meeting,[l] was obliged publicly to forswear images, and, in violation of the monastic vows which he had taken, to attend the banquets of the palace, to eat and drink freely, to wear garlands, to witness the gross spectacles, and to listen to the indecent language and music, in which the emperor delighted. Monasteries were destroyed, converted into barracks, or applied to other secular uses.[m] The governor of the Thracian theme, Michael Lachanadraco,[n] especially distinguished himself by the energy of his proceedings against the monks. He assembled a great number of them in a plain, and told them that such of them as were inclined to obey the emperor and himself must forthwith put on a white dress and take wives ; while those who

[e] Theophan. 659 : Vita Stephani junioris, in Patrol. Gr. c. 1113. Hence the biographer of Stephen speaks of him as having turned a church into ὀπωροφυλάκιον [Psalm lxxxviii. i.], καὶ ὀρνεοσκοπεῖον. 1120. [f] Schröckh, xx. 561-3.

[g] A.D. 766. Niceph. Cpol. 47 ; Walch, x. 381. Neander (v. 307) supposes that it was enforced only in Constantinople.

[h] See Theophan. 684 : Schröckh, xx. 564, seqq. [i] Niceph. Cpol. 46.

[k] Theophan. 675-6. [l] Ib. 659.

[m] Ib. 675, 684. [n] Ib. 684-5.

should refuse were to lose their eyes and to be banished to Cyprus. Some of them complied, but the greater part suffered the penalty. Lachanadraco put many monks to death; he anointed the beards of some with a mixture of oil and wax, and then set them on fire; he burnt down monasteries, sold the plate, books, cattle, and other property which belonged to them, and remitted the price to the emperor, who publicly thanked him for his zeal, and recommended him as an example to other governors.[o] Relics were to some extent involved in the fate of images, although not so much as consistency might have seemed to require.[p] Lachanadraco seized all which he found carried about the person, and punished the wearers as impious and disobedient. The relics of St. Euphemia, at Chalcedon, which even as early as the time of the fourth general council had been famous for miraculous virtue,[q] and were believed to exude a fragrant balsam, were thrown into the sea, and the place where they had lately reposed was defiled. But it is said that they were carried by the waves to Lemnos, where visions indicated the spot in which they were to be found, and secured their preservation until more favourable times.[r]

The monks, on their part, no doubt did much to provoke the emperor and his officers to additional cruelty by violent and fanatical behaviour. Thus, one named Peter "the calybite"[s] made his way into the presence of Constantine, and upbraided him as a new Valens and Julian for persecuting Christ in His members and in His

[o] Theophan. 688-90. Spanheim sets off the *dragoons* of Louis XIV.'s time against this iconoclastic *draco*. Basnage, by his tone in speaking of persecution carried on by iconoclasts, shows not a little of that persecuting spirit which he would have reprobated in the opposite party.

[p] Giesel. II. i. 5.

[q] See vol. ii. p. 219.

[r] Theophan. 679.

[s] From καλύβη, a shed or hut. It would seem that Theophanes has confounded two monks, Andrew and Peter. See Acta SS., Oct. 17, pp. 128-30 Hefele, iii. 390, 394.

images. For this audacity Peter was scourged in the hippodrome, and was afterwards strangled.[t] Another famous sufferer was Stephen, who had lived as a monk for sixty years. He boldly defied the emperor; he remained unshaken by banishment or tortures, and, by way of illustrating the manner in which insults offered to images might be supposed to affect the holy persons whom they represent, he produced a coin stamped with the emperor's head, threw it on the ground, and trod on it. In consequence of this act he was imprisoned; but the sympathy of his admirers was displayed so warmly, that Constantine was provoked to exclaim, "Am I, or is this monk, emperor of the world?" The words were caught up as a hint by some courtiers, who rushed to the prison and broke it open. Stephen was dragged through the streets by a rope tied to one of his feet, until he was dead, and his body was then torn in pieces, which were thrown into a place appropriated to the burial of heathens and excommunicate persons, of suicides and of criminals.[u]

The patriarch Constantine, after all his compliances, was accused of having held treasonable communications with Stephen, and of having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor; and on these charges he was banished to an island, while Nicetas, an eunuch of Slavonic origin, was raised to the patriarchate in his stead. In the second year of his banishment, Constantine was brought back

A.D. 767. to the capital. After having been beaten until he could not walk, he was carried into the cathedral, where the accusations against him were read aloud, and at every count of the indictment an imperial functionary struck him on the face. He was

[t] Theophan. 363, ed. Paris; Basnage, 1356.

[u] Nic. Cpol. 46; see the Life of Stephen in Patrol. Gr. c.; also Theophan. 674; Baron. 754. 26, seqq., with Pagi's notes; 762. 3; 765. 6-10; 767. 9-19; Schlosser, 228.

then forced to stand in the pulpit, while Nicetas pronounced his excommunication; after which he was stripped of the pall, the ensign of his ecclesiastical dignity, and was led backwards out of the church. On the following day he was carried into the hippodrome; his hair, eyebrows, and beard were plucked out; he was set on an ass, with his face towards the tail, which he was compelled to hold with both hands; and his nephew, whose nose had been cut off, led the animal around, while the spectators hooted at and spat on the fallen patriarch. He was then thrown violently to the ground, his neck was trodden on, and he lay prostrate, exposed to the jeers of the rabble, until the games of the day were over. A few days later, some patricians were sent to question him in prison as to the emperor's orthodoxy, and as to the decisions of the council against images. The patriarch, thinking to soothe his persecutors' rage, expressed approval of everything. "This," they said, "was all that we wished to hear further from thy impure mouth; now begone to cursing and darkness!" The wretched man was immediately beheaded, and his head, after having been publicly exposed for three days, was thrown, with his body, into the same place of ignominy where Stephen had before been buried.[x]

These details have been given as a specimen of the cruelties which are ascribed to Constantine Copronymus. To the end of his reign he was unrelenting in his enmity against the worshippers of images. In the year 775, while on a military expedition, he was seized with a burning pain in his legs, which (it is said) forced from him frequent cries that he already felt the pains of hell. He died at sea, on his way to Constantinople.[y]

[x] Theophan. 677-83. [y] Ib. 693-4.

CHAPTER V.

ST. BONIFACE.

A.D. 715-755.

AMONG the missionary enterprises of the Anglo-Saxons had been some attempts to convert the nations of Northern Germany. Suidbert, one of the original companions of Willibrord, was consecrated in England during his master's first visit to Rome, and went forth to preach to the Boructuarians, who occupied a territory between the Ems and the Yssel; but the disorders of the country obliged him to withdraw from it, and he afterwards laboured on the lower Rhine.[a] Two brothers named Hewald, and distinguished from each other by the epithets White and Black, are also celebrated as having penetrated into the country of the Old Saxons, and having there ended their lives by martyrdom.[b] But no great or lasting missionary success had been achieved to the east of the Rhine in the lower part of its course until the time of Boniface.[c]

This missionary, whose original name was Winfrid,[d] was born at Crediton, in Devonshire, of a noble and wealthy family, about the year 680.[e] It was intended that he

[a] Beda, v. 11; Vita Suidberti, ap. Leibnitz, ii. 222, seqq.; Acta SS. Mart. 1; Rettberg, ii. 395, 423, 525.

[b] Beda, v. 10; Acta SS. Oct. 1. The details of the story are legendary. See Rettb. ii. 397-9.

[c] Giesel. I. ii. 507; Rettb. i. 309. The chief authorities as to St. Boniface are his own correspondence, and the lives by his disciple Willibald, bishop of Eichstedt (for whom see the Acta SS. Jul. 7), and by Othlon, a monk of Ratisbon, in the latter part of the eleventh century; all printed in the Patrologia, vol. lxxxix. Cf. Acta SS. Jun. 5.

[d] The name of Boniface is generally said to have been given to him by the pope at his consecration. But it occurs earlier, and was probably assumed when he became a monk. Luden, v. 454; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 338; Rettb. i. 334-5.

[e] Not later than 683. Ib. 336.

should follow a secular career; but the boy was early influenced by the discourse of some monks who visited his father's house, and at the age of seven he entered a monastery at Exeter, from which he afterwards removed to that of Nutscelle (Nutshalling or Nursling) in Hampshire.[f] Here he became famous for his ability as a preacher and as an expositor of Scripture.[g] He was employed in important ecclesiastical business, and had the prospect of rising to eminence in the church of his own country; but he was seized with an earnest desire to labour for the extension of the gospel, and, with two companions, he crossed the sea to Frisia, in the year 716.[h] The state of things in that country was unfavourable for his design. Charles, who in later ages was called Martel, the son of Pipin of Heristal by a concubine, had possessed himself of the mayoralty of the palace in Austrasia, and was now engaged in war with Radbod of Frisia, who had made an alliance with Ragenfrid, the mayor of the Neustrian palace.[i] The pagan prince had destroyed many churches and monasteries, and, although he admitted Boniface to an interview, he refused him permission to preach in his dominions.[k] Boniface therefore returned to Nutscelle, where the monks, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the headship of their house, were desirous to elect him abbot. But his missionary zeal induced him to withstand their importunities; and, having secured the appointment of another abbot, through the assistance of his bishop, Daniel of Winchester, he set out for Rome in the spring of 717.[l] A letter from Daniel procured him a kind reception from Gregory II., who held many conferences with him during the following winter; and in 718 Boniface

[f] Willib. 1-2; Kemble, ii. 452. The disappearance of Nutscelle from the list of English monasteries is traced to the ravages of the Danes M'Cabe's Catholic History of England, i. 616.

[g] Willib. 2-3.

[h] Ib. 4; Pagi, xii. 272.

[i] Willib. 4; Pagi, xii. 250. 266 Sismondi, ii. 112.

[k] Willib. 4.

[l] Ib. 5.

left Rome, carrying with him a large supply of relics, with a commission[m] by which the pope authorized him to preach to the heathens of Germany wherever he might find an opportunity. After having surveyed Bavaria and Thuringia, he was induced by tidings of Radbod's death to go again into Frisia, where for three years he laboured under Willibrord. The aged bishop wished to appoint him his successor; but Boniface declined the honour, on the ground that, as he was not yet fifty years old, he was unfit for so high an office, and that he must betake himself to the sphere for which the pope had especially appointed him.[n] He therefore took leave of Willibrord, and passed into Hessia. Two local chiefs, Detdic and Dierolf, who, although professing Christianity, were worshippers of idols, granted him leave to establish himself at Amanaburg, on the Ohm (*Amana*[o]), where in a short time he reclaimed them from their heathenish practices, and baptized many thousands of Hessians. On receiving a report of this success, Gregory summoned Boniface to Rome, and, after having exacted a formal profession of faith, ordained him as a regionary bishop,[p] at the same time binding him to the papal see by an oath, which was a novelty as imposed on a missionary, although, with some necessary changes, it was the same which had long been required of bishops within the proper patriarchate of Rome.[q] Standing at the tomb of St. Peter, to whom the oath was addressed, Boniface solemnly pledged himself to obey the apostle, and the pope as his vicar; in no wise to consent to anything against the unity of the

A.D. 719.

A.D. 722.

Nov. 30, 723.

[m] Greg. II. Ep. i. Patrol. lxxxix.

[n] Willib. 6. Neander (v. 64) connects with this occasion a passage in the letter of Bugga to Boniface (Ep. 3), and supposes that Boniface acted on an intimation received in a dream. But the connection seems questionable.

[o] Willib. 7. See Rettb. i. 339-340.

[p] Willib. 7; Othlon, i. 13-4.

[q] See the 'Liber Diurnus,' iii. 8 (Patrol. cv.); De Marca, vii. 6; Schröckh, xix. 173-6; Neand. v. 66; Giesel. II. i. 22.

catholic church; in all things to keep his faith to the apostle, and to the interests of the Roman see; to have no communion or fellowship with bishops who might act contrary to the institutions of the holy fathers; but to check such persons, if possible, or otherwise to report them faithfully to his lord the pope.[r]

The bishop received from the pope a code of regulations for the government of his church[s] (probably the collection of Dionysius Exiguus); and, having learnt by experience the importance of securing the countenance of princes for missionary undertakings, he carried with him a recommendation from Gregory to Charles Martel, who, under the name of the effete descendants of Clovis, was the virtual sovereign of their kingdom.[t] He was also furnished by the pope with letters to the nations among which his labours were to be employed.[u] Charles Martel received the missionary coldly; such enterprises as that of Boniface had no interest for the rude warrior,[x] nor were the clergy of his court likely to bespeak his favour for one whose life and thoughts differed widely from their own. Boniface, however, obtained from Charles the permission which he desired,

[r] Patrol. lxxxix. 803. [s] Willib. 7.

[t] Greg. Ep. 2. To the ordinary account of the "do-nothing" Merovingian kings (*e.g.*, that given by Einhard, Vita Caroli, 1), Theophanes (619) and Cedrenus (453) add the Byzantine idea as to their long hair—that it grew along their backs, as in hogs! Gregory of Tours speaks of their "whips of hair" *(flagella crinium)*, vi. 24; viii. 10. See Waitz, ii. 104. [u] Greg. Epp. 3-7.

[x] I leave this as it stood before the publication of Dr. Perry's 'History of the Franks,' in which the religion of Charles Martel is more favourably represented. In particular, it seems to me that Dr. Perry has made far too much of a passage in Othlon, where it is said that Boniface, in applying to Carloman for support, "poposcit ut Christianæ religionis culturam, quam pater ejus in promptissimo animo cœpit et excoluit, ipse quoque pro Dei amore, suique regni stabilitate . . . eodem animo excoleret" (Othl. i. 33; Perry, 284). The occasion on which such words are said to have been used will warrant us in deducting largely from their apparent meaning. On the other hand, M. Michelet (ii. 11) questions whether Charles was a Christian at all—but on no better grounds than that the epithet *Martel* reminds the historian of the *hammer* ascribed to Thor! Against this, see Martin, ii. 206 Charles is not called Martel by any writer before the eleventh century Ib.; Luden, iv. 469.

to preach beyond the Rhine, with a letter of protection,[y] which proved to be very valuable.[z]

In Hessia and Thuringia, the countries to which he now repaired, Christianity had already been long preached, but by isolated teachers, and without any regular system.[a] The belief and the practice of the converts were still largely mixed with paganism; Boniface even speaks of presbyters who offered sacrifices to the heathen gods.[b] The preachers had for the most part proceeded from the Irish church,[c] in which diocesan episcopacy was as yet unknown, and the jurisdiction was separate from the order of a bishop;[d] they had brought with them its peculiar ideas as to the limitation of the episcopal rights; they were unrestrained by any discipline or by any regard for unity; they owned no subjection to Rome, and were under no episcopal authority.[e] Boniface often complains of these preachers as "fornicators and adulterers"[f]—words which may in some cases imply a charge of real immorality, but which in general mean nothing more than that the Irish missionaries held the doctrine of their native church as to the lawfulness of marriage for the clergy.[g] He speaks, too, of some who imposed on the people by pretensions to extraordinary asceticism—feeding on milk and honey only, and rejecting even bread.[h] With these rival

[y] Ep. 11.

[z] Ep. 12, col. 702; Rettb. i. 343.

[a] Willib. 8; Rettb. i. 346-7; ii. 310.

[b] His report of this is known from a letter of Pope Zacharias to him. (Zach. Ep. 11., Patrol. lxxxix. c. 44). Rettberg thinks that these were not Christians who had fallen into idolatry, but heathens who, without renouncing their own religion, had taken up some Christian forms. (ii. 579.) See Schmidt, i. 408.

[c] See Todd, 'St. Patrick,' 39.

[d] P. 11. [e] Willib. 8; Rettb. i. 317.

[f] *E.g.*, Epp. 12, 27, 49; Ep. Zach. 11, col. 944.

[g] Schröckh, xix. 185; Theiner, i. 409, 414; Rettb. i. 320-3.

[h] Ep. 12, col. 701; Rettb. i. 313. In the letter by which Gregory II. recommended Boniface to the people and clergy of Germany (Greg. II. Ep. 4), it is said that he is not to acknowledge *Africans* pretending to holy orders, because some of them have often been proved to be Manichæans, and others to be rebaptized (*i.e.* Donatists). Neander (v. 62), Rettberg (i. 312), and

teachers he was involved in serious and lasting contentions.

Among the collection of Boniface's correspondence is a letter from his old patron, Daniel of Winchester,[i] containing advice for the conduct of his missionary work. The bishop tells him that, in discussions with the heathen, he ought not to question the genealogies of their gods, but to argue from them that beings propagated after the fashion of mankind must not be gods but men. The argument is to be urged by tracing back the genealogies to the beginning; by asking such questions as—"When was the first god generated? To which sex did this god belong? Has the generation of gods come to an end? If it has ceased, why?[k] Is the world older than the gods? If so, who governed it before they existed?" The missionary must argue mildly, and must avoid all appearance of insult or offence. He must contrast the truth of Christianity with the absurdities of the pagan mythology. He must ask how it is that the gods allow Christians to possess the fairest places of the earth, while their own votaries are confined to cold and barren tracts; he is to dwell on the growth of the Christian church from nothing to the predominance which it has already attained.

It would seem, however, that Boniface rarely had occasion to enter into arguments of this sort, but was obliged to rely on others of a more palpable kind.[l] He

others, suppose this to have been carelessly copied by a scribe from a form of older date, since it occurs almost in the same words in an epistle of Gregory the Great (ii. 37), and in a form ascribed to Gelasius I. (Patrol. lix. 137; Lib. Diurn. iii. 9, ib. cv.). M. Ozanam, however, thinks that the prohibition was applicable to the circumstances of Germany in the time of Boniface, and that the ascetic pretenders of whom Boniface complains were Manichæans. (Civil. Chrét. 192.) But he does not explain how the African church of the eighth century could have sent forth such persons, how it is that Donatists are also mentioned in that age, or how it is that the same words are found in Gregory the Great and in the older Roman formularies.

[i] Ep. 14.

[k] Cf. Theophil. ad Autolycum, ii. 3 (Patrol. Gr. vi.).

[l] Rettb. i. 407-8

found that an oak near Geismar, sacred to the thunder-god Donar,[m] was held in great reverence by the Hessians, and that the impression which his words made on the people was checked by their attachment to this object of ancestral veneration. He therefore, at the suggestion of some converts, resolved to cut down the tree. A multitude of pagans assembled and stood around, uttering fierce curses, and expecting the vengeance of the gods to show itself on the missionary and his companions. But when Boniface had hardly begun his operations, a violent gust of wind shook the branches, and the oak fell to the ground, broken into four equal pieces. The pagans at once renounced their gods, and with the wood of the tree Boniface built a chapel in honour of St. Peter.[n]

After this triumph the success of his preaching was rapid. He founded churches and monasteries, and was reinforced by many monks and nuns from his own country, who assisted him in the labours of conversion and Christian education.[o] Gregory III., soon after being raised to the popedom, in 732, conferred on him the pall of an archbishop ;[p] and when in 738 Boniface paid a third visit to Rome, he was received with the honour due to a missionary who had by that time baptized a hundred thousand converts.[q] On his return northwards, he was induced by Odilo, duke of Bavaria, to remain for a time in that country, where he had already laboured about three years before.[r] He found there a general profession of Christianity ; but there was only one bishop, Vivilus by name ; there was no

A.D. 739.

[m] The *Thor* of Scandinavian mythology. (Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, 62-3, 172.) As being the god of thunder he is called *Jupiter* (Willib. 8), whence Rettberg wrongly substitutes the *chief* god, Woden, for him. i. 344.

[n] Willib. 8.

[o] Willib. 8 ; Othlon, i. 25 ; Rettb. i. 403.

[p] Greg. III. Ep. 1 (Patrol. lxxxix.) ; Willib. 8.

[q] Greg. III. Ep. 7, col. 584 ; Willib. 9.

[r] Ib. ; Pagi, xii. 428 ; Rettb. i. 346.

system of ecclesiastical government; and, as in other parts of Germany, he had to contend with the rivalry of the irregular missionaries from Ireland. Boniface divided the country into four dioceses—Salzburg, Passau (which was assigned to Vivilus), Ratisbon, and Freising;[s] and, having thus organized the Bavarian church, he returned to the more especial scene of his labours.

The name of Charles Martel is memorable in the history of the church and of the world for having turned back the course of Mahometan conquest. The Saracens of Spain had overrun the south of France, had made their way as far as the Loire, and were marching against Tours, with the intention of plundering the treasures which the devotion of centuries had accumulated around the shrine of St. Martin, when they were met by Charles, at the head of an army collected from many races—Franks, Germans, Gauls, men of the north, and others. His victory near Poitiers (although the slaughter has been greatly exaggerated by legendary writers)[t] put a stop for ever to the progress of their arms towards the north; and while they were further weakened by internal dissensions, Charles, following up his advantage, succeeded in driving them back beyond the Pyrenees.[u] But the vast benefit which he thus conferred on Christendom was purchased at a cost which for the time pressed heavily on the church of France. In order to meet the exigencies of the war, he seized the treasures of churches, and rewarded the chiefs who followed him with the temporalities of bishopricks

A.D. 732.

[s] Willib. 9; Greg. III. Ep. 4, 7; Rettb. i. 349-50. Freising (not Freisingen) is the proper form. On the Swabian side of the Lech, names of places end in *ingen*; on the Bavarian side, in *ing*. Herzog, art. *Otto von Freising*.

[t] It is said that the infidels lost 375,000 men, and the Christians only 1500. (Paul. Warnef. De Gestis Langob. vi. 46; see Sismondi, ii. 132; Martin, ii. 202-6; Hallam, Supplem. Notes, 24; Luden, iv. 105-6.) The Arabian accounts ascribe the defeat to the Divine vengeance for the cruelties of which the invaders had been guilty. Conde, 'Dominacion de los Arabes en España,' 44, ed. Paris, 1840.

[u] Gibbon, v. 186-9.

and abbeys;[x] so that, notwithstanding his great services to the Christian cause, his memory is branded by the French ecclesiastical writers as that of a profane and sacrilegious prince, and a synod held at Quiercy, in the year 858, assured one of his descendants that for this sin Eucherius, bishop of Orleans, had seen him tormented "in the lower hell."[y]

Boniface, although he found the name of the Frankish mayor a powerful assistance in his labours beyond the Rhine,[z] was thwarted at the Frankish court by the nobles who had got possession of ecclesiastical revenues, and by the rude, secular, fighting and hunting bishops, who were most congenial to the character of Charles.[a] In a letter to Daniel of Winchester, he complains of being obliged to have intercourse with such persons. The bishop in reply wisely advises him, on scriptural authority, to keep himself pure, and to bear with such faults in others as it may not be in his power to amend.[b]

Both Gregory III. and Charles Martel died in 741. The new pope, Zacharias, extended Boniface's power by authorizing him to reform the whole Frankish church.[c] The sons of Charles were glad to avail themselves of the assistance of Rome in a work of which they felt the necessity;[d] and from Carloman, who had succeeded to the mayoralty of Austrasia, while Pipin held that of Neustria, Boniface received

[x] This has been questioned, but wrongly. Another reason for the spoliation of church property was that the families of bishops had acquired great secular power, and that Charles, finding them opposed to him, took this way of punishing them. Waitz, iii. 12-17.

[y] Ep. ad Ludov. regem Germaniæ, ap. Hard. v. 469; cf. Vit. S. Rigoberti, c. 4 (Acta SS. Jan. 4); Vit. S. Eucher. (ib. Feb. 20, p. 219). The story is full of anachronisms: *e.g.*, the saint who is said to have seen the sufferings of Charles after death, himself died before him. See Baron. 739. 2; 741. 16-21; Pagi, xii. 466-70; Mabillon, iii. 595; Acta SS. Feb. 20, pp. 214-19, where the passage in the Life of St. Eucherius is rejected as an interpolation.

[z] Ep. 122, col. 702.

[a] Epp. 49, 75; Greg. II. Ep. 9. See Waitz, iii. 25.

[b] Epp. 12-13.

[c] Zach. Ep. 6.

[d] Planck, ii. 726.

an amount of support which he had hitherto in vain endeavoured to obtain.[e] He now erected four bishopricks for Hesse and Thuringia;[f] and in 742, at the request of Carloman (as he says), was held a council for the reformation of the church—the first Austrasian council which had met for eighty years.[g] This council was for some years followed by others, collected from one or from both divisions of the Frankish territory. They were not, however, composed of ecclesiastics only, but were mixed assemblies of the national estates;[h] and, while Boniface was acknowledged in his high office as the pope's commissioner, the decrees were set forth by the Frankish princes in their own name,[i] and appointments which had been already made by the papal authority were again made, afresh and independently, by the secular power. Even the jurisdiction of Boniface over other bishops was thus granted anew to him.[k] The canons of these assemblies were directed towards the establishment of order in the church, by providing for annual synods, by forbidding ecclesiastics to hunt, to hawk, to serve in war; by the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy; by subjecting the clergy to the bishops and discountenancing such as were under no regular discipline.[l] An attempt was made to recover to their proper uses the ecclesiastical revenues which had been alienated by Charles Martel. The first council ordered their restoration,[m] but this was not to be so easily effected. The council of the following year was

[e] Rettb. i. 346-7.

[f] Ep. 49; Zach. Ep. 1; Rettb. i. 351; Hefele, iii. 462-3.

[g] Ep. 49, col. 745; Pagi, xii. 446, 478. There had been more recent synods in Neustria. Rettb. i. 380.

[h] Ib. 354, 363.

[i] *E.g.* Conc. Germ. I. ap. Hard. iii. 1919; Conc. Suession. ib. 1932-4

[k] Conc. Germ. I. c. 1. ap. Hard. iii. 1920; Rettb. i. 354. The genuineness of these councils has been denied without reason by some Romanists, on account of the position assigned in them to the secular power. (See Harzheim, i. 344-6; Schröckh, xix. 204.) Their chronology is elaborately discussed by Bp. Hefele, iii. 467, seqq.

[l] *E.g.* Conc. Germ. cc. 1, 3, 4; Hard. iii. 1520.

[m] Can. 1.

reduced to attempt a compromise, by allowing that, in consideration of the wars and of other circumstances, the property should for a time be retained by the lay holders, but that for each *casata* a *solidus* should be paid to the ecclesiastical owners.[n] But in the later councils the subject does not appear, and it would seem that the attempt was given up as hopeless.[o] The councils also made enactments for the suppression of heathen practices,[p] such as divination, the use of amulets, need-fire (*i.e.* the production of fire by the friction of wood and tow),[q] and the offering of sacrifices, whether to the old pagan deities, or to the saints who with some converts had taken their place—practices of which some, with a remarkable tenacity, have kept their hold on the northern nations even to our own day.[r]

A.D. 743.

In 742 Boniface laid the foundation of the great abbey of Fulda, through the agency of Sturmi, a noble Bavarian, whom he had trained up in his seminary at

[n] Conc. Liptinense, c. 2; Waitz, iii. 35. By some this council is placed at Lestines, near Cambray; by others at Ettines, near Binch, in Hainault (Perry 300). The *casata*, like the English *hide* of land, was a quantity sufficient for the maintenance of one family (Ducange, s. v. *Casata*.) The *solidus* is reckoned in the Ripuarian laws as the equivalent of two oxen (Ozanam, 138); but its value varied much. See Ducange, s. v.; Hefele, iii. 469.

[o] Lingard, A.S.C. ii. 347. See Perry, 299-304.

[p] Conc. Germ. 1. c. 5; Conc. Liptin. c. 4; Conc. Suession. c. 6.

[q] *Nodfyr*, from *nōthen*, to compel, because the fire was forced out of the wood (Würdtwein, in Patrol. lxxxix. 814); or from *not* (need), because used in times of calamity (Ducange, s. v. *Nedfri*). On the manner of producing it, see Grimm, 'Deutsche Mythologie,' 570, where a great mass of learning on the subject is collected. The Lanercost Chronicle mentions the use of needfire as a remedy for a disease among cattle in 1268 (p. 85, ed. Stevenson). In the 17th century it was used in Aberdeenshire, where it was stigmatized as "a *highland* practice." (Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, pub. by the Spalding Club, 1843, p. 117.) Grimm (567) quotes Logan's 'Scottish Gael' for evidence that it is still used in Caithness. Bp. Hefele seems to be wrong (iii. 466) in identifying the needfire with a Greek superstition condemned by the Trullan council, c. 65. In the Rigveda, "sometimes the deity of fire is sung, as born from two sticks, in allusion to the Hindu practice of kindling fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood." Quart. Rev. cxxix. 200.

[r] See Grimm, *passim*; Rettb. i. 370; W. Müller, 'Altdeutsche Religion,' Götting. 1844, pp. 114, seqq.; Quart.

Fritzlar.[s] The original intention was unconnected with educational or missionary plans—to provide a place for ascetic retirement. Sturmi and his companions were charged to seek out a remote and lonely position in the Buchonian forest, between the four nations to which their master had preached; and when they had chosen a suitable spot, on the banks of the river Fulda, they had to clear it by cutting down trees, which furnished them with materials for a little chapel.[t] Sturmi was afterwards sent to Monte Cassino and other Italian monasteries, in order that he might become acquainted with the best monastic systems,[u] and the rule established at Fulda was more rigid than that of St. Benedict. The monks were never to eat flesh; their strongest drink was to be a thin beer,[x] although wine was afterwards allowed for the sick. They were to have no serfs, but were to subsist by the labour of their own hands.[y] The new foundation soon became important, and was extended to purposes beyond those which Boniface had had in view. Princes and nobles enriched it with gifts of land, and both from the Frankish kings and from the popes it enjoyed special privileges; although grave doubts have been cast on the documents by which some of these are said to have been conferred, and especially on the grant by which Zacharias is represented as exempting it from all jurisdiction save that of the apostolic see.[z]

Rev. cx. 169-71. The curious 'Indiculus paganiarum vel superstitionum,' annexed to the Conc. Liptinense (Hard. iii. 1923; Pertz, Leges, i. 19), was probably contemporary, although not the work of that council. See notes on it in Hefele, iii. 471-7. The like is to be said of the vernacular form of baptismal professions and renunciations —"Forsachistu Diabolæ, etc."—where after the devil are mentioned the old pagan gods. (Pertz, l. c.) Rettb. i. 328, 360. Bp. Hefele says that this form shows traces of Boniface's Anglo-Saxon dialect. iii. 470, 478.

[s] Ep. 75; Egil. Vita S. Sturmii, ap. Pertz. ii. 366; Rettb. i. 346. Pagi places the foundation in 744. xii. 516-17.

[t] Vita Sturm. p. 367. [u] Ib. p. 372.

[x] Ib. 371. Dr. Pertz significantly refers to the "Mémoires du Baron de Poellnitz" [Liége, 1734, who found the brotherhood of Fulda "les plus rudes buveurs de l' Europe," i. 219].

[y] Epp. 75; Rettb. i. 371-4.

[z] Pertz, ii. 370; Pipin. ap. Bonif. Ep.

Boniface continued to meet with difficulties. His scheme of a regular organization, by which bishops were to be subject to metropolitans, and these to the successor of St. Peter, did not find favour with the Frankish prelates. Of three on whom the pope intended to confer the pall, and who had been persuaded to apply for it, two afterwards refused it, probably in consequence of having further considered the obligations to Rome which it involved.[a] And he still had to encounter the opposition of irregular or heretical teachers, whom he describes as far more numerous than those of the catholic communion, and as stained in many cases with the most infamous vices.[b]

Of these opponents the most noted were Adelbert and Clement.[c] Adelbert was of Gaulish descent, and had obtained uncanonical consecration as a bishop from some ignorant members of the order. He is described as affecting extraordinary sanctity, and the accounts of him lead us to suppose him a person of fanatical character. He relied much on a letter which was written in the name of the Saviour and was said to have been sent down from heaven.[d] He said that an angel had brought him some relics of surpassing sanctity from the ends of the earth. In opposition to the regular bishops and clergy, he held meetings in fields and at wells; and in such places he set up crosses and built

91; Zach. Ep. 15. See Schröckh, xix. 226-7; Böhmer, Regesta Karol. 1. Rettberg regards these pieces as spurious or interpolated. Such exemptions as that said to have been granted by Zacharias were not known until later. i. 613-22.

[a] Zach. Epp. 5, 6; Fleury, xlii. 37; Planck, ii. 727; Neand. v. 88; Giesel. II. i. 35; Rettb. i. 362.

[b] See Zach. Ep. 11, col. 944.

[c] The chief sources of information respecting them are Bonif. Ep. 57, and Concil. Rom ap. Hard. iii. 1935-41, or Patrol. lxxxix. 831, seqq.

[d] It is not said that Adelbert was the writer of this letter. Walch (x. 24, 41) identifies it with a letter for which a like origin was pretended in the time of Gregory the Great, and with one which was condemned in a capitulary of Charlemagne, A.D. 789. (Pertz, Leges, i. 65, c. 77.) The object of that letter was to enforce a rigid observance of the Lord's day.

little oratories. He opposed the practice of pilgrimage to Rome. He prayed to angels of names before unknown, such as Tubuel, Sabuoc, and Simiel. He is said to have disparaged the saints and martyrs, refusing to dedicate churches in their honour, while, with a self-importance which, however inconsistent, is certainly not without parallels, he dedicated them in his own name instead.[e] A life of him, filled with tales of visions and miracles, was circulated;[f] and—whether from vanity or in order to ridicule the relics which Boniface had brought from Rome[g]—he distributed the parings of his own nails and hair among his admirers. These, it is said, spoke of his merits as something on which they might rely for aid; and, when they prostrated themselves at his feet, for the purpose of confessing their sins, he told them that it was needless—that he knew all things and had forgiven all their misdeeds, so that they might go home in peace, with the assurance of pardon.

While Adelbert gathered his sect in Austrasia, Clement was preaching in the German territory.[h] Of this person, who was a Scot from Ireland, we are told that he set at nought all canons and all ecclesiastical authority; that he despised the writings of the most esteemed fathers, such as Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory; that he had two sons born in "adultery" (*i.e.* in wedlock[i]), and yet considered himself to be a true Christian bishop; that he judaically held marriage with a brother's widow to be lawful; that he believed our Lord's descent into hell to have delivered the souls of unbelievers as well as

[e] Rettberg is unnecessarily perplexed by the seeming inconsistency. (i. 315.) Walch supposes the story to have grown out of the circumstance that the name of "Adelbert's chapels" was popularly used. x. 47.

[f] The opening of this is preserved in the acts of the Roman synod. Adelbert, it was said, was sanctified while yet in the womb; and this grace was intimated to his mother, during her pregnancy, by a vision of a *calf* issuing from her right side!

[g] Walch, x. 48.

[h] Rettb. i. 324.

[i] Theiner, i. 416.

believers; and that on the subject of predestination he held horrible opinions contrary to the catholic faith.[k]

Boniface brought the case of Adelbert before a Neustrian council at Soissons in 744, and obtained a condemnation of the heretic, with an order that the crosses which he had erected should be burnt.[l] But in the following year Adelbert as well as Clement appear to have been in full activity. Boniface procured a censure of both from another council,[m] and reported the matter for investigation to pope Zacharias, whom he requested to obtain from Carloman an order that they should be imprisoned and debarred from communication with all faithful Christians.[n] In consequence of this application, the documents of the case were examined by a Roman synod, which sentenced Adelbert to be deposed, put to penance, and, in case of obstinacy, anathematized with all his followers; while Clement was to be forthwith subjected to deposition and anathema.[o] Two years later, however, the two again appear; it would seem that, besides enjoying a great amount of veneration with the common people, who had persecuted Boniface for his proceedings against Adelbert,[p] they even had some influence over Carloman himself;[q] and it was probably in consequence of this that Zacharias now advised a course of dealing with them which is hardly consistent with the decided condemnation before passed on them.[r] The further history of Clement is utterly unknown; as to Adelbert it is stated by a writer

[k] Ep. 57. As might be expected, Walch (x. 64), Schröckh (xix. 214-16), and most especially Neander (v. 78; Mem. 467) and Baron Bunsen (Zeichen der Zeit, i. 91-4), take up the cause of Adelbert and Clement, and strain their powers of conjecture to draw forth a favourable meaning from the unfavourable representations by which alone we know anything of these teachers. On the other side, see Mosheim, Ketzergesch., i. Vorr. 27

[l] Capitul. Suessicn. 7, ap. Pertz, Leges, i. 21.

[m] Conc. German. III. ap. Hard. iii. 1933.

[n] Ep. 57.

[o] Conc. Rom. ap. Hard. iii. 1940-1; Zach. Ep. 10, c. 942.

[p] Ep. 57, c. 752.

[q] Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 354; Rettb. i. 314.

[r] Ep. 9. See Hefele, iii. 513.

of questionable authority that he was imprisoned at Fulda, and made his escape from the abbey, but was murdered by some swineherds whom he met with in his flight.[s]

Another person with whom Boniface came into collision was an Irish ecclesiastic named Virgil.[t] Virgil, when ordered by him to rebaptize some persons at whose baptism the words of administration had been mutilated by an ignorant priest, appealed to Rome against the order, and Zacharias pronounced that the sacrament was valid, inasmuch as the mistake did not proceed from heresy, but only from grammatical ignorance.[u] Some time after this, Virgil was nominated to the see of Salzburg,[x] when Boniface objected to him that he held the existence of another world below ours, with a sun, a moon, and inhabitants of its own. Zacharias condemned the opinion, and summoned Virgil to Rome ;[y]

A.D. 745.

[s] Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 355 ; Rettb. i. 368-70.

[t] See Vit. S. Virgilii, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iv. 309. "His Irish name was Fergil, or Fergal." Todd's St. Patrick, 65.

[u] Zach. Ep. 7. The priest baptized "in nomine Patri*a*, et Fili*a*, et Spiritu*a* Sancta."

[x] Virgil administered the diocese for two (or as Rettb. ii. 234, argues, for twenty-two) years before receiving consecration ; and in the meantime ordinations, etc., were performed for him by one of his countrymen named Dobda, who was in episcopal orders. At length Virgil yielded to the importunities of his flock and of the neighbouring bishops, and was consecrated in 767 [?]. (Canisius, ed. Basnage, III. ii. 287.) The peculiar system of the Irish church, which has been already explained (p. 11), disposes of the construction put on this case by Rettberg (ii. 234) and others. See Todd, 65-7.

[y] Zach. Ep. 11. coll. 946-7. The case of Virgil is celebrated as a parallel to that of Galileo—his opinion, according to those who so regard the matter, having been that he believed the roundness of the earth and the existence of antipodes. Writers anxious for the credit of Rome reply that, whatever his opinion may really have been, the report which reached the pope was, that he held the existence of men belonging to a different species from ours—not partakers in the seed of Adam or in the Christian redemption. (See Bayle, art *Virgile de Salzbourg ;* Neand. v. 86 ; Ozanam, 134 ; Whewell, Hist. of Inductive Sciences, i. 272, ed. 2 ; Rettb. ii. 236 ; Rohrbacher, xi. 39-40 ; Herzog art. *Virgilius ;* Hefele, iii. 523.) Dr. Newman, however, supposes him to have been charged with teaching "the existence of the antipodes," and tells us that "the Holy See apparently evaded the question . . . passing over, in a matter not revealed, a philosophical opinion" (Lectures on University Subjects, Lond. 1859, p. 280). But in truth

but it would seem that he was able to clear his orthodoxy, as he was allowed to take possession of Salzburg, and eventually attained the honour of canonization.[z]

The German church had now advanced beyond that stage in which its primate might fitly be a missionary, without any determinate see.[a] Boniface wished to fix himself at Cologne—probably with a view to Frisia, which, since the death of Willibrord, in 739, he had regarded as included within his legatine care; and to this he obtained the consent of the Frankish chiefs, and the sanction of Pope Zacharias.[b] But before the arrangement could be carried into effect, events occurred which caused it to be set aside. In 744, the same year in which Cologne became vacant by the death of Raginfrid,[c] Gerold, bishop of Mentz, was slain in a warlike expedition against the Saxons, and his son Gewillieb, who until then had been a layman of Carloman's court, was consecrated to the see. In the following year the new bishop accompanied the mayor of the palace to war, with a resolution to avenge his father's death; he discovered the Saxon by whose hand it had been caused, and, while the Frankish and the Saxon armies were encamped on opposite banks of the Weser, invited him to a conference in the midst of the stream. The two rode into the water, and at their meeting, the bishop stabbed the Saxon—an act which was the signal for a battle, in which the Franks were victorious. Gewillieb returned to his see as if he had done nothing inconsistent with his episcopal character; nor does it appear that any disapprobation of it was

Zacharias condemned very strongly the opinion imputed to Virgil,—the pope's only doubt being whether Virgil really held it.

[z] Pagi (xii. 538, 549) and others deny the identity of St. Virgil with the object of Boniface's suspicion; but Mabillon (Acta SS. Ben. iv. 308) and Lanigan (iii. 184) maintain it.

[a] Rettb. i. 366.

[b] Zach. Ep. 10, coll. 940, 942; Pagi, xii. 523; Neand. v. 89.

[c] Hefele, iii. 494-5.

felt by Carloman or his nobles.[d] But Boniface, after having so lately exerted himself to procure the enactment of canons against clerical warriors, now felt himself bound to enforce them, and submitted the case of Gewillieb to a council, which declared the bishop guilty of blood. Gewillieb yielded, resigned his see, and spent the remainder of his life in the enjoyment of some lesser benefices; and Boniface was unwillingly obliged by the Frankish nobles to accept the bishoprick thus vacated as the seat of his metropolitan jurisdiction,[e] instead of that which he had himself chosen. A.D. 746. The pope acquiesced in the change, and subjected to him, as archbishop of Mentz, the dioceses of Worms Spires, Tongres, Cologne, and Utrecht, with all the nations of Germany which had received the gospel through his labours.[f]

In 747 Carloman resigned his power, and became a monk on Mount Soracte, from which, on finding himself disquieted by the visits of his countrymen, he afterwards withdrew to Monte Cassino.[g] This change, by which the whole power of the Frankish kingdom was thrown into the hands of Pipin, would seem to have operated to the disadvantage of Boniface.[h] It has been very generally believed that he officiated at the coronation of Pipin at Soissons, when the mayor of the palace at length assumed the name of king[i] (A.D. 752); but the evidence of this is open to some doubt, and it has even been argued that, instead of promoting, he opposed

[d] Othlon, i. 37; Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 354.

[e] Conc. Germ. III. ap. Hard. iii. 1934-6; Zach. Ep. 10, col. 942; Schröckh. xix. 232-3; Luden, iv. 167; Rettb. i. 365-7; Hefele, iii. 511-12.

[f] Zach. Epp. 11. col. 947; 14; Rettb. i. 379. Waitz observes that nothing is said of Treves with its suffragan dioceses, or of Alamannia and Bavaria. Boniface's power extended over all Germany as legate, but not as archbishop. iii. 40.

[g] Einhard, Vita Carol. 2; Petr Casin. in Patrol. clxxiii. 1070; Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. iv. 124-6; Annal. ii. 131-2; Baron. 747. 4-10.

[h] Rettb. i. 184-5.

[i] Einhard, Annal. A.D. 750; Annal. Laurissens. A.D. 750 (Pertz, i. 138-9).

the revolution which transferred the crown from the descendants of Clovis to another dynasty.[k] The duties of his office began to weigh heavily on him. He had still to struggle against much opposition on the part of bishops and clergy,[l] while his labours were greatly disturbed by the frequent incursions of pagans, by whom he reported to Pope Stephen in 752 that thirty churches in his diocese had been burnt or demolished.[m] He had, with some difficulty, obtained permission from Rome to nominate a successor to the see of Mentz when he should feel the approach of death,[n] and, with Pipin's

[k] This is Rettberg's view. A short time before the change, Boniface sent Lull to Rome on a mission so confidential that the purport of it could not safely be committed to writing. (Ep. 75.) Rettberg argues that such a mission was more likely to have been against than in favour of the actual holder of power among the Franks, who wished to add the title to the reality of sovereignty — that Boniface was desirous to withhold the pope from acting on considerations of interest (i. 186). He compares the chronicles which name Boniface as having crowned Pipin with those which omit his name, and plausibly accounts for the insertion of the statement in the former class (i. 384-92). Boniface's share in the affair had before been denied by some Gallican writers. Ozanam makes no other reply to Rettberg as to the question whether Boniface promoted the change, than that, as he sees no wrong in the conduct ascribed to the archbishop, he thinks it unnecessary to clear him from it. He says that Boniface must have officiated at the coronation, because such ceremonies were new to the Franks, and must have been introduced from England. The necessity of this, however, is not evident, inasmuch as the rite was before practised both in the eastern empire and in Spain; even if the testament of St. Remigius, which represents the founder of the earlier dynasty as having been crowned by him (Testam. S. Remigii, ap. Flodoard. Hist. Rem. i. 18, Patrol. cxxxv. 67; Lehuërou, 'Institutions Carolingiennes,' ii. 329) be given up as spurious (see Waitz, iii. 61). The tone of Boniface's letter to the archchaplain Fulrad (Ep. 79) certainly seems to show that his relations with Pipin were not such as might have been expected if he had done the new king the essential service which is generally supposed. (Rettb. i. 384-5. Comp. Schröckh, xix. 234-6; Sismondi, ii. 164-5; Neand. v. 94-5; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 349; Hefele, iii. 535-7.) In answer to Rettberg, Waitz says (iii. 60, 63) that although Boniface's part in the affair is not certain, yet, if he took any part at all, it must have been in favour of the change; and Oelsner is quoted in Herzog, xi. 669, as having shown that Boniface crowned Pipin, although only in his official character as papal legate, and without having shared in the earlier intrigues.

[l] Zach. Ep. 11.

[m] Ep. 78; Zach. Ep. 10, col. 940.

[n] Ep. 49, col. 746; Zach. Epp. ii. 9; 11, col. 947; Acta SS. Oct. 16, pp. 1058-61.

consent, he now raised to it his countryman and disciple Lull, who, however, had a much more limited authority than Boniface,[o] and did not receive the pall until twenty years later.[p] A.D. 754.

It had been Boniface's intention to spend his last days in his monastery of Fulda,[q] but he felt himself once more attracted to Frisia, the scene of his early labours. He again set forth as a missionary bishop, descended the Rhine, and, having consecrated Eoban to the see of Utrecht,[r] laboured with his assistance among the Frisian tribes. Many thousands were baptized, and Boniface had appointed the eve of Whitsunday for the meeting of a large number of converts at a place near Dockum, in order that he might bestow on them the rite of confirmation. But instead of the neophytes whom he expected, an armed band of pagans appeared and surrounded his tent. The younger members of his party were seizing weapons for defence, but he exhorted them to give up the thoughts of preserving the life of this world, and to submit to death in the hope of a better life. The pagans massacred the whole company —fifty-two in number. They carried off from the tent some chests which they supposed to be full of treasure, but which in reality contained books and relics; and it is said that, having drunk up a quantity of wine which they found, they were excited to quarrel about the division of the fancied spoil, and avenged the martyrs by almost exterminating each other.[s] Eoban had shared the fate of Boniface, but their missionary labours were continued by Gregory, abbot of Utrecht, another disciple of June 5, 755.

[o] Pagi, xii. 587.

[p] Rettb. i. 575. See Flodoard, Hist. Rem. ii. 17; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iv. 394-5.

[q] Ep. 75.

[r] Willib. 11; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iv. 3; Rettb. i. 396; Hefele, iii. 539. Perhaps, as Pagi (xii. 621) and others say, Boniface regarded himself as bishop of Utrecht, and Eoban as his coadjutor. See Ep. 90.

[s] Willib. 11; Pagi, xi. 626.

the great missionary,[t] and before the end of the century, the conversion of the Frisians was completed by Lebuin, Liudger, and others.[u]

The body of Boniface was conveyed up the Rhine to Mentz, and thence, in compliance with a wish which he had often expressed,[x] was carried to the abbey of Fulda; and, although no miracles are related of him during his lifetime (unless the destruction of the oak of Geismar be reckoned as an exception), it is said that his remains were distinguished by profuse displays of miraculous power, both on the way to their resting-place and after they had been deposited there.[y] His name for ages drew pilgrims and wealth to Fulda, and he was revered as the apostle of Germany—a title which he deserved, not as having been the first preacher of the gospel in the countries where he laboured, but as the chief agent in the establishment of Christianity among the Germans, as the organizer of the German church. The church of Saxon England, from which he proceeded, was immediately, and in a more particular manner than any other, a daughter of the Roman. Teutonic by language and kindred, Latin by principles and affection, it was peculiarly fitted to act in the conversion of the German nations and to impress its converts with a Roman character. And this was especially the work of Boniface. He went forth to his labours with the pope's commission. On his consecration to the episcopate, after his first successes, he bound himself by oath to reduce all whom he might influence to

[t] Life of Gregory by Liudger, in Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iv. 320, seqq. He is sometimes wrongly styled a bishop. (Ib. iii. Præf.) Du Sollier (Acta SS., Aug. 25, pp. 248, 251) says that he was a bishop as to office and jurisdiction, but not as to consecration, having a chorepiscopus to assist him. See also Mabill. Annal. ii. 172-3; Neand. Memorials, 470-3; Rettb. ii. 531-3.

[u] Ib. 537-40.

[x] *Epist.*, Ep. 75; Vita S. Lulli, 12, Acta SS. Oct. 16. The saint, however, found it necessary to repeat his wish in a vision before Lull and the people of Mentz would let the body go. Othlon. ii. 25; Vita Lulli, 18-19; Eigil. Vita Sturmii, 16 (Patrol. cv.).

[y] Willib. 12; Rettb. i. 401.

the obedience of St. Peter and his representatives. The increased powers and the wider jurisdiction bestowed on him by later popes were employed to the same end. He strove continually, not only to bring heathens into the church, but to check irregular missionary operations, and to subject both preachers and converts to the authority of Rome. Through his agency the alliance naturally prompted by the mutual interest of the papacy and the Frankish princes was effected. And, whether he shared or not in the final step by which the papal sanction was used to consecrate the transference of the crown from the Merovingian to the Carolingian line, his exertions had undoubtedly paved the way for it. To him belongs in no small measure the authorship of that connexion with the northern rulers which encouraged the popes to disown the sovereignty of Constantinople; and, on the other hand, to him is to be traced the character of the German church in its submission to Rome from the time of the first council held under Carloman in 742.[z]

But these facts afford no warrant for the charges brought against Boniface by writers of the last century.[a] One who, after having passed his seventieth year, resigned the primacy of the Frankish church to set out as a simple missionary to the barbarous Frisians, with an expectation (as it would seem)[b] of the violent death which he found, may safely be acquitted not only of personal ambition, but of having been "a missionary of the papacy rather than of Christianity."[c] His labours for the papacy were really performed because, trained as he had been under the influences communicated to his native church by Theodore and Wilfrid, he believed the authority of Rome

[z] Guizot, ii. 173; Giesel. II. i. 23; Michelet, ii. 16,

[a] Such as Mosheim (ii. 119) and Schröckh. Rettberg (i. 310) mentions J. E. C. Schmidt's Church History as carrying the depreciation to an extreme.

[b] Willib. 11; Othlon. ii. 20-1.

[c] Thus Schröckh describes him, xix. 242.

to be the true means of spreading Christianity among the heathen, and of reviving it from decay in countries where it was already established. It may have been that in his zeal for unity he made too little allowance for the peculiar tempers and positions of men, or that he was sometimes guilty of injustice towards his opponents; nor can it be pretended that his opinions were in advance of the age in which he lived, whereas ingenious conjecture may ascribe to the sectaries Adelbert and Clement all the spiritual enlightenment of modern Heidelberg or Berlin. But let it be considered how little such men, however highly they may be estimated, could have effected in the circumstances with which Boniface had to deal; how powerless such teaching, the offspring of their personal discoveries or fancies, must have been for the great work of suppressing heathenism; how distracting to the heathen must have been the spectacle of rival and discordant types of Christianity; how necessary the operation of one uniform and organized system must have reasonably appeared to Boniface, whether for the extension of the gospel or for the reform of the church, for an effective opposition to the rudeness, the violence, the lawless passions with which he had on all sides to contend. That Boniface ever used force as an instrument of conversion there is no evidence whatever; his earnestness in the promotion of education proves how thoroughly he desired that understanding should accompany the profession of belief. And that the knowledge which he wished to spread by his educational instructions was to be drawn from the Scriptures, of which he was himself a diligent student,[d] appears from the eagerness with which he endeavoured to obtain as many copies as possible of the sacred books for the instruction of his converts.[e] His letters and other writings give us the impression, not

[d] Willib. 3.

[e] Epp. 12, col. 702; 19, 38, 42, &c.

only of a great missionary, but of a man abounding in human feelings and affections.[f]

Strenuous as Boniface was in the cause of the papacy, his conception of it was far short of that which afterwards prevailed. He regarded the pope as the supreme ecclesiastical judge, the chief conservator of the canons, the highest member of a graduated hierarchy, superior to metropolitans, as metropolitans were to ordinary bishops, but yet not as belonging to a different order from other bishops, or as if their episcopacy were derived from him and were a function of his.[g] Much has been said of the strange questions on which he sometimes requests the pope's advice—as to the lawfulness of eating horseflesh, magpies, and storks; as to the time when bacon may be eaten without cooking, and the like.[h] Such questions have been regarded as proofs of a wretched scrupulousness in themselves, and the reference of them to Rome has been branded as disgraceful servility. But—(besides that we are not in a condition to judge of the matter without a fuller knowledge of the circumstances)—it is easy to discover some grounds of justification against these charges. Thus the horse was a favourite victim of the gods among the northern nations, so that the eating of horseflesh was connected with the practice of heathen sacrifice.[i] And the real explanation of such questions would seem to be, not that Boniface felt himself unable to answer them, or needed any direction from the pope, but that he was desirous to fortify himself with the aid of the highest authority in the church for his struggle against those remnants of barbaric manners which

[f] Ozanam, 210-11.

[g] Rettb. i. 411.

[h] Greg. III. Ep. 1; Zach. Ep. 13.

[i] Agathias, i. 7 (p. 28); Grimm, 'Deutsche Mythologie,' i. 41-3; Ozanam, 189. In England, Egbert's Penitential allowed horseflesh to be eaten, "licet multæ familiæ eam emere nolint" (c. 38, ap. Wilkins, i. 123). But the papal legates at Chalcythe, in 785, denounced the eating of it as not practised by any "orientals" (c. 19)—*i.e.*, nations to the east of *England*. See hereafter the accounts of the conversion of Norway and Iceland (ch. viii.).

tended to keep up among his converts the remembrance of their ancient idolatry.[k]

If Boniface's zeal for Rome was strong, his concern for religion and morality was yet stronger.[l] He remonstrated very boldly against some regulations as to marriage which were said to have the authority of Rome, but which to him appeared to him immoral; he denied that any power on earth could legalize them.[m] He remonstrated also against the Roman view which regarded "spiritual affinity"—*i.e.*, the connection formed by sponsorship at baptism—as a bar to marriage.[n] He strongly represented to Zacharias the scandal of the heathenish rejoicings and banqueting which were allowed at Rome at the beginning of the year, and the manner in which persons who had visited Rome referred to these as a warrant for their own irregularities.[o] He protested against the simoniacal appearance of the charges exacted for palls by the papal officials, whether with or without their master's knowledge.[p] And, as a counterpoise to all that is said of Boniface's deference to popes, we must in fairness observe (although his assailants have not adverted to it) the tone of high consideration in which Zacharias answers him,[q] and the earnestness with which the pope endeavours to vindicate himself from the suspicion of countenancing abuses—a remarkable testimony to the estimation in which the apostle of Germany was held. Nay, if an anonymous biographer may be believed, Boniface, towards the end of his life, protested against Stephen II. for having, during his visit to France, consecrated a bishop of Metz—an act which the archbishop regarded as an invasion of the metropolitical privileges of Treves; and Pipin's mediation was required to

[k] Luden, iv. 470; Rettb. i. 418.
[l] Giesel. II. i. 27; Rettb. i. 412-13.
[m] Ep. 49, col. 746.
[n] Epp. 39-40.
[o] Ep. 49, col. 747.
[p] Zach. Ep. vi. 2. See De Marca, VI. x. 11
[q] Epp. 1, 6

heal the difference between the pope and him whom many writers have represented as the abject slave of Rome.[r]

The spirit of unfair disparagement, however, has now passed away;[s] and both the church from which Boniface went forth and the nations among which he ministered may well combine to do honour to his memory.

CHAPTER VI

PIPIN AND CHARLEMAGNE.

A.D. 741-814.

THE alienation which the iconoclastic controversy tended to produce between the Byzantine emperors and the bishops of Rome was increased by other circumstances. The nearest and most dreaded neighbours of the popes were the Lombards. The hatred with which the Romans had originally regarded these on account of their Arianism had survived their conversion to orthodox Christianity, and had been exasperated by political hostility During the iconoclastic troubles, the Lombards, under Liutprand, appear by turns to have threatened the popes and to have affected to extend alliance and protection to them, with a view of using them as instruments for weakening the imperial influence in Italy.[a] When that influence seemed to be irreparably injured by the course

[r] Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 356; Rettb. i. 413; Milman, ii. 60. The bishop in question was Chrodegang, as to whom see hereafter.

[s] Even Ellendorf, a writer who, although in communion with Rome, is very violent in his enmity to the hierarchy, vindicates Boniface. 'Die Karolinger und die Hierarchie ihrer Zeit,' i. 87.

[a] Schröckh, xix. 532-4. See above p. 50.

which events had taken, the Lombards over-ran the exarchate, and advanced to the walls of the pope's own city. In this extremity, Gregory III., after a vain attempt to obtain aid from Constantinople, resolved to call in new allies from beyond the Alps—the nation of the Franks, who had been catholic from the beginning of their Christianity, with whom he had lately formed a closer connexion by means of Boniface, and whose virtual sovereign, Charles Martel, was marked out by his triumph over the Mahometan invaders of his country as the leader and champion of western Christendom.[b] As, however, it was natural to suppose that the Frankish mayor would prefer the prosecution of his victories on the side of Spain to engaging himself in new quarrels elsewhere, the pope strengthened his petition for aid by the most persuasive gifts and proposals; he sent to Charles the keys of St. Peter's tomb, with some filings of the apostle's chains; it is said that he offered to bestow on him the title of consul or patrician[c] of Rome, and even to transfer the allegiance of the Romans from the empire to the Frankish crown.[d] A second and a third application followed soon after. The pope's tone in these is extremely piteous; but he endeavours to excite Charles against the Lombards by motives of jealousy as well as of piety. Not only, he says, have they laid waste the estates of St. Peter, which had been devoted to the purposes of charity

A.D. 739.

A.D. 740-1.

[b] Milman, ii. 153.

[c] The title of patrician, in the later days of the empire, designated the dignity next to the throne, and might be held with several high offices (De Marca, I. xii. 4; Ducange, s. v. *Patricius*; Giesel. II. i. 38; Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, 877). According to one reading of Gregory's first extant letter (which conveyed his *second* request for aid), the pope offered the kingdom (*regnum*) to Charles; but the true reading is *rogum* or *rogam*—*i.e.* petition. See Cenni's note on the letter, Patrol. xcviii. 67; Schröckh, xix. 538-41; and against Gregorovius, who prefers *regnum* (ii. 284), see Waitz, iii. 78.

[d] Fredeg. Contin. A.D. 741 (Patrol. lxxi.); Annal. Mettens. A.D. 741 (Pertz, i.). See Pagi, xii. 453-5; Muratori, Annali, IV ii. 6; Martin, ii. 215.

and religion, but they have plundered the apostle's church of the lights bestowed on it by the Frankish viceroy's ancestors and by himself; nay, Liutprand and his son Hildebrand are continually mocking at the idea of relief from the Franks, and defying Charles with his forces.[e] It would seem that the letters were favourably received; but they produced no result, as the deaths of both Gregory and Charles followed within the same year.[f]

In the room of Gregory, Zacharias, a Greek by birth, was chosen by the Romans, and was established in the papacy, without the confirmation either of the emperor or of the exarch—the first instance, it is said, of such an omission since the reign of Odoacer.[g] By repeated personal applications to Liutprand, the pope obtained the forbearance of the Lombards and recovered some towns which they had seized.[h] His relations with the empire are obscure; the state of affairs was indeed so unsettled that these relations were full of anomaly and inconsistency. But under his pontificate took place an event which produced an important change in the position of the papacy towards the Franks, and consequently in its position towards the empire. Pipin, whose accession, first to a portion of his father's power, and afterwards to the remainder, on the resignation of his brother Carloman, has already been mentioned,[i] now thought that the time was come for putting an end to the pageant royalty of the Merovingians. A confidential ecclesiastic, Fulrad, abbot of St. Denys and archchaplain of the

[e] Patrol. xcviii. 64-8. Muratori thinks that by "Ecclesia S. Petri" the pope does not mean the *building*, but the *Roman church* (Annali, IV. ii. 9). Some words unnoticed by Muratori, however, can, as Dean Milman remarks (ii. 155), "scarcely be explained but of the actual ornaments of the church." Yet, as St. Peter's was then without the walls of Rome, the plunder of the church does not imply that the Lombards had entered the city (as Baronius inferred).

[f] Schröckh, xix. 538-9.

[g] See vol. ii. pp. 306, 334. Schröckh (xix. 539) thinks the statement as to Zacharias wanting in proof. At all events he was, as pope, a subject of the empire, which some have denied.

[h] Anastas. 162-3; Gregorov ii. 288.

[i] Pp. 70, 79.

court,[k] was sent to Rome, with instructions to ask, in the name of the Frankish nation, whether the real holders of power or the nominal sovereigns ought to reign.[l] The answer of Zacharias was favourable to the wishes of those who proposed the question; and at the national assembly of Soissons, in the year 752,[m] Pipin was raised aloft on a buckler,[n] amid the acclamations of his people, and was crowned as king of the Franks, while the last of the long-haired Merovingians, Childeric III., was tonsured and shut up in the monastery of Sithiu.[o]

A.D. 751-2.

The amount of the pope's share in this revolution, and the morality of his proceedings, have been the subjects of much controversy. Einhard, in the earlier part of the following century, speaks of the deposition as effected by the "command," and of the coronation as performed by the "authority," of the Roman pontiff:[p] but (besides that this writer may have misapprehended the real course of the affair) a comparison of other passages will show that the meaning of his words is less strong than might at first sight appear, and is reconcilable with the facts which are otherwise ascertained. The matter really came before Zacharias in the form of a question from the Frankish estates; his answer was an opinion, not a command; and the sovereignty was bestowed on Pipin, not by the pope, but by the choice of his own countrymen, although the pope's opinion was valuable to him, as assisting him to supplant the nominal king, and yet

[k] It is generally said that with him was Burkhard, bishop of Würzburg, an Englishman, and a companion of St. Boniface. This, however, is denied by Rettberg (i. 391), and by Weizsäcker, in Herzog, xi. 668. For Burkhard, see his Life by Egilward, Acta SS., Oct. 14; for Fulrad, ib. Feb. 17.

[l] Einhard, Annal. A.D. 750; Egilward, 24-5; Pagi, xii. 563.

[m] March 1, according to Pagi, xii. 570-3; but Mansi (ibid.) thinks that it was after July 2. See Böhmer, Regesta Karolorum, 1; Waitz, iii. 59, seqq.

[n] This form was used only in cases of deviation from the strict line of descent. Waitz, ii. 106.

[o] St. Bertin's, near St. Omer.

[p] "Jussu" (Vita Carol. 1); "per auctoritatem," ib. 3.

throwing over the change an appearance of religious sanction which might guard it from becoming a precedent for future breaches of fealty towards Pipin's own dynasty.[q] The view afterwards maintained by Gregory VII. and his school[r]—that the successor of St. Peter exercised on this occasion a right inherent in his office, of deposing sovereigns at will—is altogether foreign to the ideas of the time, and inconsistent with the circumstances of the case.[s]

It is evident that the pope's answer was prompted rather by a consideration for his own interest in securing the alliance of Pipin than by any regard for strict moral or religious principle. Yet we should do Zacharias injustice by visiting it with all the reprobation which modern ideas of settled and legitimate inheritance might suggest. The question proposed to him was one which must have seemed very plausible in times when might went far to constitute right, and when revolutions were familiar in

[q] Giesel. II. i. 35. See Neand. v. 165. The same view is taken by Giles Colonna, archbishop of Bourges, A.D. 1304 ('Disputatio de utraque Potestate' in Goldast, De Monarchia, ii. 106); and by his contemporaries, John of Paris ('De Potest. regia et papali,' ib. 129) and Marsilius of Padua (De Transl. Imperii, ib. 150). When at a French national council, in 1406, the dean of Reims cited the case of Pipin as proving the right of the popes to make and unmake kings of France, the presidents of the assembly brought forward the chronicles of St. Denys in proof that the change was made "non præcepto ipsius papæ sed consilio," and compelled the speaker to explain away the offensive words. Monach. Sandionys. Chron. Karoli VI. t. iii. 468.

[r] Greg. VII. Epp. v. 2; viii. 21 (Hard. vi. 1345, 1471).

[s] "It is impossible," says Mr. Hallam, "to consider the reference as to the deposition of Childeric in any other light than as a point of casuistry laid before the first religious judge in the church. Certainly the Franks, who raised the king of their choice upon their shields, never dreamed that a foreign priest had conferred upon him the right of governing. Yet it was easy for succeeding advocates of Rome to construe this transaction very favourably for its usurpation over the thrones of the earth" (Middle Ages, i. 523). See Nat. Alexand. xi. 175, seqq.; Schröckh, xix. 551; Schmidt, i. 300, 378; Planck, ii. 731; Giesel. II. i. 37; Waitz, iii. 70. Luden thinks that Pipin was urged on by Boniface or by the pope, in the expectation that the church would be the chief gainer by the change of dynasty (iv. 181). But this seems inconsistent with such facts as are known; and as we have seen (p. 80), Boniface was perhaps even opposed to the change.

every state. The Frankish monarchy had been elective at first, and had never been bound down to the rule of strictly hereditary succession. It was held that any member of the royal house might be chosen king;[t] thus Clotaire IV. had been set up by Charles Martel in 717,[u] and the deposed Childeric himself was a Merovingian of unknown parentage, whom Pipin and Carloman had found it convenient to establish in 742, after the nominal sovereignty had been five years vacant.[x] It was also held among the Franks that kings might be set aside on the ground of incapacity. The only principle, therefore, which was violated in the transference of the crown was that which limited the choice of a sovereign to the Merovingian family; and, in order to cover this irregularity in the eyes of the nation, it was afterwards pretended that Pipin was himself a Merovingian.[y] Moreover, by whatever means the change of dynasty may have been vindicated or disguised, it does not appear to have shocked the general moral feeling of the age; and this, although it will not suffice to justify Zacharias, must be allowed in some measure to excuse him.

Zacharias died in March 752, a little before or after[z] the consummation of the act which he had sanctioned. Stephen, who was chosen in his room, did not live to be consecrated, and is therefore by most writers not reckoned in the list of popes, so that his successor, another Stephen, is sometimes styled the second, and sometimes the third, of that name.[a] Aistulf was now king of the Lombards, and renewed the aggressions of his predecessors on

[t] Einhard, Vita Car. 1. See Waitz, ii. 90, 105, who, however, thinks that some writers have gone too far as to this point.

[u] Pagi, xii. 277.

[x] Ib. 488-9; Sismondi, ii. 129.

[y] Lehuërou, ii. 98-111, 326. See the Carolingian pedigree, in Pertz, ii. 308-9, with the editor's note, p. 305; and Waitz, iii. 69.

[z] See p. 90, note [m].

[a] Anastas. 165; Pagi, xii. 578; Schröckh, xix. 553. Stephen I. was the contemporary of St. Cyprian. See vol. i. p. 172.

Rome.[b] Stephen, by means of splendid presents, obtained from him a promise of peace for forty years; but the treaty was almost immediately broken by Aistulf, who seized Ravenna and required the Romans to own him as their lord. The pope, in his distress, sent envoys to beg for aid from the emperor, and in the meantime he affixed the violated treaty to the cross, and occupied himself in imploring the help of God by solemn prayers and penitential processions. But the mission to Constantinople proved fruitless; and when Stephen, relying on the success of his predecessor Zacharias in similar attempts, repaired to Pavia, in the hope of moving Aistulf by personal entreaties,—although he met with respectful treatment, he was unable to obtain any promise of forbearance.[c] His only remaining hope was in Pipin, with whom he had opened a secret negotiation.[d] He therefore resolved to proceed into France, and, as Aistulf endeavoured to dissuade him, the fear lest the Lombard should detain him by force added speed to his journey across the Alps. On hearing of the pope's approach, Pipin sent his son Charles—the future Charlemagne—to act as escort; and he himself, with his queen, the younger princes, and the nobles of his court, went forth a league from the palace of Pontyon-le-Perche to meet him. Stephen and his clergy appeared in sackcloth and ashes, and, throwing themselves at the king's feet, humbly implored his assistance against the Lombards. Pipin received the suppliants with marks of extraordinary honour; he prostrated himself in turn before the pope, and, holding the rein of his horse, walked by his side as he rode.[e] Jan. 6, 754.

[b] Ellendorf, in his hatred of popes, takes up the cause of the Lombards, whom he supposes to have been zealous friends of the church, although enemies to its temporal power and wealth (i. 101-2). He denies that Aistulf threatened Rome, p. 111.

[c] Anastas. 167; Vita Chrodegangi, c. 24 (Pertz, x.); Pagi, xii. 580.

[d] See his letters, Patrol. xcviii. 100-6.

[e] The French writers relate the behaviour of Stephen, the Italians that of

Stephen's stay in France was prolonged by illness, which compelled him to remain until the summer at St. Denys.[f] During this time an unexpected opponent of his suit appeared in the person of the abdicated Carloman, who, at the instigation of Aistulf, had been compelled by the abbot of Monte Cassino to leave his monastic retreat for the purpose of urging his brother to refuse the desired assistance. But Stephen exerted his pontifical authority over the monk, and Carloman was shut up in a monastery at Vienne, where he died soon after.[g] A second coronation, in which Pipin's sons were included, was performed at St. Denys by the pope's own hands; and in the hope of securing the new dynasty against a repetition of the movements by which its own royalty had been won, the Frankish nation was charged, under pain of excommunication, never to choose any other king than a descendant of him whom God and the vicar of the apostles had been pleased to exalt to the throne. Pipin was also invested with the dignity of patrician of Rome.[h]

July 28, 754.

In the same year Pipin, although some of the Frankish chiefs opposed the expedition, and even threatened to desert him,[i] led an army into Italy, and compelled Aistulf to swear that he would restore to St. Peter the towns which he had seized. But no sooner had the northern forces recrossed the Alps than the Lombard refused to fulfil his engagements, invaded the Roman territory, wasted the country up to the very walls of Rome, and

Pipin. I have combined the accounts, as they are not irreconcilable. See Schröckh, xix. 557; Milman, ii. 177; Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln. 65.

[f] See the 'Revelatio Stephani,' Patrol. lxxxix. 1022.

[g] Anastas. 169.

[h] Ib. 167-9; Clausula de elect. Pipini (Patrol. lxxxix. 978, note); Einhard, A.D. 753; Sismondi, ii 187; Milman, ii. 177-8; Waitz, iii. 65-6. From the expression of the 'Clausula'—"Tali omnes interdictu et lege excommunicationis constrinxit"—it has been inferred that Stephen threatened an *interdict*. But *interdictus* here means simply a *prohibition*, and interdicts (in the ecclesiastical sense of the word) were of later invention.

[i] Einhard, Vita Car. 6.

laid siege to the city itself.[k] As the way by land was blocked up, the pope sent off by sea a letter entreating his Frankish ally once more to assist him.[l] Another and a more urgent entreaty followed;[m] and finally the pope despatched at once three letters,[n] of which one was written in the name of St. Peter himself—an expedient which may perhaps have been suggested or encouraged by the impression as to the character of the Franks which he had derived from his late sojourn among them.[o] In this strange document the apostle is represented as joining the authority of the blessed Virgin with his own; supplication, threats, flattery are mingled; and, in consideration of the aid which is asked for the defence of the papal temporalities, assurances are given not only of long life and victory, but of salvation and heavenly glory—apparently without any reserve or condition of a moral kind.[p] Whether induced by these promises or by other motives, Pipin speedily returned to Italy, besieged Aistulf in Pavia, and forced him as a condition of peace to make a large cession of cities and territory, which were transferred to the Roman see, and for the first time gave the pope the position of a temporal prince.[q] Some Byzantine

A.D. 755.

[k] Anastas. 170; Baron. 755. 1, seqq.

[l] Patrol. xcviii. 103.

[m] Ib. 107. [n] Ib. 111-26.

[o] Milman, ii. 181.

[p] Fleury calls this "un artifice sans exemple devant ni après dans toute l'histoire de l'Eglise," and remarks, "L'Eglise y signifie, non l'assemblée des fidèles, mais les biens temporels consacrés à Dieu; le troupeau de Jésus-Christ sont les corps, et non pas les âmes; les promesses temporelles de l'ancienne loi sont mêlées avec les spirituelles de l'Evangile, et les motifs les plus saints de la religion employés pour une affaire d'état" (xliii. 17; comp. Discours. ii. 3, and Murat. Annali, IV. ii. 47). These observations raise the wrath of Rohrbacher, xi. 115. (See too Cenni, in Patrol. xcviii. 103.) M. Ozanam (231) defends the letter—or rather considers it to be above the need of defence—because it was the custom of the time to substitute in charters, etc., the name of a founder or of a patron saint for that of his church. But this is obviously no parallel to a letter in which St. Peter is represented as saying, not that he writes by Stephen, but that Stephen and the Roman church write through him.

[q] The town of Sutri, and some others, had already been bestowed on the papacy by Liutprand (Gregorov. ii.

envoys, who were present at the conclusion of the treaty, urged that the exarchate should be restored to their master, to whom it had belonged before it was seized by the Lombards; but Pipin replied that he had conquered for St. Peter, and could not dispose otherwise of that which he had offered to the apostle.[r] Yet it does not appear that the gift was one of independent sovereignty; for the territories bestowed on the pope were held under the Frankish crown,[s] and, on the other side, the anomalies of the relation between the popes and the empire became now more complex than ever. While Pipin was patrician of Rome by the pope's assumption of a right to confer the title—while the pope received from the Frankish king lands which the emperor claimed as his own—while Rome continued to be virtually separated from the empire by the consequences of the iconoclastic controversy—the popes were still regarded as subjects of the emperors, and dated by the years of their reign.[t]

In 757 Stephen II. was succeeded by his own brother Paul, who held the pontificate ten years.[u] While Paul was on his death-bed, Toto, duke of Nepi, made his way into Rome, at the head of an armed multitude, forced some bishops hastily to ordain his brother Constantine through all the grades of the ministry, and put him into possession of the papal chair.[x] The intruder had occupied it for thirteen months, when he was ejected by an opposite party, and Stephen III. (or IV.) was established in his stead. Constantine's partisans were subjected to the barbarous punishments

A.D. 767.

265, 328), but could not be considered as a sure possession. Anast. 171; Gibbon, iv. 488-90; Schröckh, xix. 565-7; Savigny, i. 358.

[r] Anastas. 123.

[s] See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 50, 172; Planck, ii. 743, 752-5; Guizot, ii. 335; Luden, v. 215, and note. For the territories acquired by the popes in this age, see Hefele, iii. 541-2.

[t] Schröckh, xix. 567-71, 576; Milman, ii. 185.

[u] Anastas. 172.

[x] Ib. 174.

usual in that age—such as the loss of the eyes or of the tongue; he himself, after having been thrust into a monastery by one faction of his enemies, was dragged out of it by another, was blinded, and in that condition was left in the public street.[y] A council was held under the sanction of Charles and Carloman, who had just succeeded their father Pipin in the sovereignty of the Franks and in the patriciate of Rome. A.D. 769. Constantine was brought before this assembly, and was asked why he had presumed, being a layman, to invade the apostolic see. He declared that he had been forced into the office against his will; he threw himself on the floor, stretched out his hands, and with a profusion of tears entreated forgiveness for his misdeeds. On the following day he was again brought before the council, and was questioned about the "impious novelty" of his proceedings with a strictness which drove him to turn upon his judges by answering that it was not a novelty, and naming the archbishop of Ravenna and the bishop of Naples as having been advanced at once from a lay condition to the episcopate. At this reply the members of the council started from their seats in fury. They fell on the blind man, beat him violently, and thrust him out of the church in which their sessions were held. They then proceeded to annul the ordinations and other official acts which he had performed as pope, burnt the records of his pontificate, and denounced anathemas against any one who should aspire to the papacy without having regularly passed through the grade of cardinal priest or cardinal deacon. The new pope Stephen, with all the clergy and a multitude of the Roman laity, prostrated themselves, and with tears professed contrition for having received the eucharist at the usurper's hands; and a suitable penance was imposed on them.[z]

[y] Anastas. 176.

[z] Id. 176-7. See Hefele, iii. 403-7.

It was the interest of the popes to prevent the formation of any connexion between their Frankish allies and the hated Lombards. Stephen, therefore, was beyond measure disquieted when intelligence reached him, in 770, that Desiderius, the successor of Aistulf, had projected the union of his family with that of Pipin by a double tie—that he had offered his daughter in marriage either to Charles or to Carloman, and that their sister was engaged to Adelgis, son of the Lombard king. The pope forthwith addressed an extraordinary letter to the Frankish princes.[a] As they were both already married, he tells them that it would be sin to divorce their wives for the sake of any new alliance. But moral or religious objections hold a very subordinate place in the remonstrance, while the pope exhausts himself in heaping up expressions of detestation against the Lombards, and in protesting against the pollution of the royal Frankish blood by any admixture with that "perfidious and most unsavoury" nation—a nation from which the race of lepers was known to originate.[b] The epistle concludes with denunciations of eternal fire, and the pope states that, in order to give it all possible solemnity, it was laid on St. Peter's tomb, and the eucharistic sacrifice was offered on it.

A.D. 771. Charles, unmoved by this appeal, repudiated his wife and espoused the Lombard princess; but within a year—for what reason is unknown,[c] but

[a] Patrol. xcviii 255-62. See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 90.

[b] "Quod splendiflua ac nobilissima regalis vestræ potentiæ proles perfida (quod absit!) ac *fœtentissima* Langobardorum gente polluatur, quæ in numero gentium nequaquam computatur, de cujus natione et leprosorum genus oriri certum est" (256). The last words are commonly interpreted as meaning that the Lombards had introduced the leprosy into the world, or, at least, into Italy. (See Manzoni, Discorso Storico, Opere, i. p. 248, ed. Paris, 1843.) But it seems as if the pope wished also to alarm Charles with the prospect of a leprous offspring.

[c] "Incertum qua de causa," says Einhard (Vita Car. 18). See Baron. 771. 3; Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 93; Manzoni, i. 237; Schröckh, xix. 583-4; Luden, iv. 260-3, 513; Gregorov. ii. 381.

certainly not out of any regard to Stephen's expostulation —she was sent back to her father's court, and Hildegard, a lady of Swabian family, took her place as the consort of Charles.[d]

In his relations with Stephen, Desiderius was studious to maintain a specious appearance of friendship, while he resisted or eluded all applications for the restoration of what were styled "the rights of St. Peter."[e] On the election of Adrian as Stephen's successor, the Lombard king made overtures to him, A.D. 772. and promised to satisfy all his demands, if the pope would visit him at Pavia; but the invitation was refused. Desiderius avenged himself by ravaging the borders of the papal territory, and Adrian invoked the aid of Charles. Carloman had died in 771, and Charles, without any regard to the rights of his brother's family, had united the whole of the Frankish dominions under his own rule. Desiderius, stimulated perhaps rather by his own daughter's wrongs than by a disinterested regard for justice, had espoused the cause of the disinherited princes, and had requested the pope to crown them; but Adrian, from unwillingness to embroil himself with Charles, and consequently to place himself at the mercy of the Lombards, had refused.[f] Charles now readily listened to the petition of his ally. He asked Desiderius to give up the disputed territory, and offered him a large sum of money as compensation, while the pope sent repeated embassies to the Lombard king, and at last proposed to pay him the desired visit, on condition that Desiderius should first perform his part of the agreement by restoring the rights of St. Peter.

[d] Hildegard was the mother of three sons,—Charles, Pipin, and Lewis,—of whom only the youngest survived his father. She died in 783, and is regarded as a saint. See Acta SS., Apr. 30.

[e] Under the name of "justitiæ S. Petri" were comprehended all sorts of things which could be claimed as belonging to the church. Manzoni, i. 238-9.

[f] Einhard, Vita Car. 3-6; Anastas. 180-1

Desiderius, supposing that Charles must be fully occupied by his war with the Saxons, attempted to satisfy him with evasive answers, and even assured him that the papal territory had already been restored; but his representations had no effect on Charles, who in 773 invaded Italy, besieged him in Pavia, and overthrew the Lombard dominion.[g] Desiderius was compelled to become a monk at Liege.[h] His son Adelgis escaped to Constantinople, where, although the honour of the patriciate was conferred on him, Charles was able to prevent him from obtaining any effective aid for the recovery of his inheritance.[i] Twelve years later, by a convention with the Lombard duke of Benevento, Charles became lord of the remaining part of Italy.[k]

A.D. 773-4.

A.D. 786.

During the siege of Pavia in 774, Charles paid his first visit to Rome, where he arrived on Easter-eve. The magistrates were sent by the pope to meet him at the distance of thirty miles from the city. A mile outside the walls the soldiery appeared, with all the children of the schools, who bore branches of palm and olive, and hailed him with hymns of welcome. In honour of his patrician dignity,[l] the sacred crosses were carried forth as for the reception of an exarch, and Charles, dismounting from his horse at the sight of them, proceeded on foot towards St. Peter's, where the pope and all his clergy were assembled on the steps and in the principal portico of the

[g] Anastas. 183-5; Einhard, Annal. A.D. 773; Vita Car. 7. (Although I quote together these works, which bear the name of Einhard, it ought to be mentioned that the annalist is now supposed not to be identical with the biographer.)

[h] Pagi, xiii. 101

[i] Einhard, A.D. 774; Schlosser, 252. According to Theophanes (718) Adelgis, who had taken the name of Theodotus, was killed in 788 in an unsuccessful invasion of the Neapolitan territory (see Pagi, xiii. 232). But others (as the Poëta Saxo, l. i. A.D. 774) represent him as having died in advanced age at Constantinople. (See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 463; and the notes on Theophanes.)

[k] Einhard, Vita Car. 10; Annal. A.D. 786.

[l] As to this, see Gregorov. ii. 406-9.

church. The king, as he ascended, kissed each step;[m] on reaching the landing-place he embraced the pope, and taking him by the right hand, entered the building, while the clergy and monks loudly chanted "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." He kept the festival season with a great appearance of devotion; he enlarged the donation which Pipin had made to the church, confirmed it by an oath, and solemnly laid the deed of gift on the apostle's tomb.[n] The actual extent of his donation is, however, uncertain. It is said to have included not only the exarchate of Ravenna, but the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, Venetia, Istria, and other territories in the north of Italy—in short, almost the whole peninsula—together with the island of Corsica;[o] yet some of these had not as yet been acquired by the Franks, and in the event the papal rule seems to have been really limited to the exarchate, which was itself held not in absolute sovereignty, but in dependence on the Frankish monarchs. It would appear, therefore (if the report of the donation may be trusted), that Charles, in his gratitude for the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Italy, professed to bestow on the pope spoils which had not at the time been fully won, and that he was afterwards indisposed to carry his promises into effect.[p] The king visited Rome again in 781, and a third time in 787; and on each occasion the church was enriched by gifts, bestowed, as he professed in the language of the age, "for the ransom of his soul."[q] His connection with Adrian was cemented not only by interest, but by personal

[m] He therefore probably went up on his knees, as Mr. Gregorovius assumes, ii. 394.

[n] Anastas. 185-6; Schröckh, xix. 588; Gibbon, iv. 487; Janus, 147.

[o] Anastas. 186.

[p] See Schröckh, xix. 588-92; Gibbon, ix. 489; Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 106, 116, 156; Milman, ii. 197-8; Gregorov. ii. 398.

[q] "Pro mercede animæ." Adrian. ad Carol., Patrol. xcviii. 404; Schröckh, xix. 592.

regard, and on hearing of the pope's death, he is said to have wept for him as for a brother.[r]

In 795 Adrian was succeeded by Leo III. The political condition of Rome for many years before this time is very obscure. According to some writers,[s] it had been a republic, under the popes, from the date of Pipin's donation (A.D. 755); but against this view it has been urged that the letter of Adrian to the emperor Constantine and his mother, on occasion of the second council of Nicæa, proves that even so late as 785 the imperial sovereignty continued to be in some degree acknowledged.[t] Although, however, the Byzantine rulers were now in agreement with Rome on the question of images, the older differences as to that question had produced a lasting estrangement; so that Leo, in announcing his election to Charlemagne, sent him the banner of Rome with the keys of St. Peter's tomb, and begged him to send commissioners for the purpose of administering to the citizens an oath of allegiance to the Frankish crown.[u] Whether we regard this as an illustration of the relations which already existed between Rome and the Franks, or as a voluntary act, by which the pope, for the sake of gaining a powerful protector, placed himself and his people in a new relation of dependence– it proves both that the connection with the eastern empire was severed, and that, if Rome had for a time been independent, it was no longer so.[x]

The promotion of Leo deeply offended some relations of Adrian who had occupied high positions in the papal government. They waited upwards of three years for an opportunity of gratifying their

Apr. 25, 799.

[r] Einhard, Vita Car. 19.

[s] As Pagi, xiii. 320.

[t] Giesel. II. i. 41. See the next chapter.

[u] Einhard, A.D. 796. See Gregorov. ii. 505-11.

[x] See Schröckh, xix. 600; Ellendorf, i. 195; Gregorov. ii. 511-13, 520-1; Waitz, iii. 165-6

enmity; and at length, as the pope was conducting a procession through the streets of Rome, a party of his enemies rushed forth near the monastery of St. Sylvester on the Quirinal, dispersed his unarmed companions, threw him from his horse, and attempted to deprive him of his eyes and tongue. Whether from haste or from pity,[y] they did their work imperfectly; but Paschal and Campulus, two of Adrian's nephews, who had been the chiefs of the conspiracy, dragged the wounded pope into the church of the monastery, threw him down before the altar, attempted to complete the operations which had been begun, and, after having beaten him cruelly with sticks, left him weltering in his blood. Notwithstanding all these outrages, Leo retained his sight and his speech; it was popularly believed that he had recovered them through the help of St. Peter.[z] By the aid of his friends, he was enabled to escape from Rome; under the escort of the duke of Spoleto, a vassal of the Frankish king, he reached that city; and Charles, who was detained in the north by the Saxon war, on receiving a report of his sufferings, invited him to Paderborn, where he was received with great honour.[a]

About the same time that Leo arrived at Paderborn, some envoys from Rome appeared there with serious charges against him. Charles promised to investigate these charges at Rome; and, after having sent back the pope with a convoy of two archbishops, five bishops, and five counts, who re-established him in his see, the king himself proceeded by slow and indirect journeys towards the city, where he arrived Nov. 29.

[y] Theophan. 732; Schröckh, xix. 602-3.

[z] Anastas. 197-8. (See the various accounts in Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 202-5; Acta SS. Jun. 12, p. 71-2; and Gregorov. ii. 526.) The monk of St. Gall assures us that both for use and for appearance the new eyes were far better than the old. Gesta Caroli, i. 28.

[a] Einhard, A.D. 799; Poëta Saxo, 255; Anastas. 198.

in the end of November 800.[b] The inquiry into Leo's case was opened before an assembly of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and nobles; but no testimony was produced against the pope, and the prelates and clergy who were present declined the office of judging, on the ground of an opinion which had gradually grown up, that the successor of St. Peter was not amenable to any human (or rather perhaps to any ecclesiastical) judgment.[c] On this Leo declared himself ready to clear his innocence by an oath; and on a later day he ascended the pulpit, and solemnly swore on the Gospels that he had neither committed nor instigated the offences which were laid to his charge.[d] The conspirators who had been concerned in the assault on him were soon after tried, and, as they could make no defence, were condemned to death; but at the pope's request the sentence was commuted to banishment.[e]

Dec. 1.

Dec. 23.

But between the purgation of Leo and the trial of his assailants an important event had taken place. On Christmas-day—the first day of the ninth century, according to the reckoning then observed in the west[f]—Charles attended mass in St. Peter's, when, as he was kneeling before the altar, the pope suddenly placed a splendid crown on his head, and the vast congregation burst forth into acclamations of "Life and victory to Charles,

[b] Einhard, A.D. 800.

[c] Anastas, 199; see vol. ii. p. 332; and Giesel. I. ii. 403-4; II. i. 43; Waitz, iii. 168.

[d] Anastas. 199. The nature of these charges is unknown. Alcuin mentions the intrigues of some persons who attempted to get the pope deposed for adultery or perjury. He treats the matter very tenderly, as if he believed Leo to be guilty, yet wished to uphold the credit of the Roman See. (Ep. 92; Lorenz, Life of Alcuin, 199-201.) The words of Leo's purgation, "nec perpetravi *nec perpetrari jussi*" (Pertz, Leges, ii. 15), seem inconsistent with the idea that unchastity was the sin imputed to him. Dean Milman (ii. 205) therefore thinks that he was charged with *spiritual* adultery—*i.e.* simony—a sin of which Alcuin writes, in 803, that it prevailed *almost* up to the apostolic chair (Ep. 116). Yet the *jussi* need not relate to all the charges.

[e] Einhard, A.D. 801; Ado, A.D. 800 (Patrol. cxxiii.).

[f] Teulet, n. in Einhard, i 249.

crowned by God emperor of Rome!"[g] Leo then proceeded to anoint Charles and his son Pipin, king of Italy, and led the way in doing homage to the new emperor.[h] In conversation with his attendants, Charles professed great surprise, and even displeasure, at the coronation, declaring that, if he had expected such a scene, not even the holiness of the Christmas festival should have induced him to go into the church on that day.[i] There can, however, be little question that his elevation to the imperial dignity had been before arranged. Perhaps the idea had been suggested to him by a letter in which his confidential friend Alcuin spoke of the popedom, the empire, and the sovereignty of the Franks as the three highest dignities in the world, and pointed out how unworthily the imperial throne, the higher of the two secular monarchies, was then filled.[k] On his way to Rome, the king had visited Alcuin at Tours; and he now received from him as a Christmas-gift a Bible corrected by the learned abbot's own hand, with a letter in which the present was said to be intended in honour of the imperial power.[l] It may therefore be conjectured that the assumption of the empire had been settled between Charles and Leo during the pope's residence at Paderborn; or at least that Leo had there discovered the king's inclination, and that Alcuin had been for some time in the secret.[m]

Yet we need not tax Charles with insincerity in his expressions of dissatisfaction after the coronation; rather,

[g] "Carolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria." (Anast. 199.) The metrical biographer thus paraphrases the cry—

"Augusto Carolo magno, pacemque ferenti,
Imperii merito Romani sceptra tenenti,
Gloria, prosperitas, regnum, pax, vita, triumphus!"—*Poëta Saxo*, 259.

[h] Anastas. 199. Einhard, Vita Car. 28

[k] Ep. 80; Rettb. i. 430. Luden thinks that the idea of the empire arose in the mind of Charles as the case of Leo pressed Italian affairs on his attention. iv. 405, seqq.

[l] Alc. Epp. 103, 185; Lorenz, 278-9.

[m] Schröckh, xix. 24; Rettb. i. 431; Milman, ii. 206; Mounier, Vie d'Alcuin, 225-6. See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 21[illegible]-15; Waitz, iii. 173; Gregorov. ii. 543-8.

as dissimulation was no part of his general character, we may suppose that, while he had desired the imperial title, he was displeased at the manner in which it was conferred. He may have regarded the pope's act as premature, and as an interference with his own plans. He may have seen that it was capable of such an interpretation as was afterwards actually put upon it—as if the pope were able to bestow the empire by his own authority—a pretension altogether inconsistent with the whole spirit of Charlemagne's policy.[n] Perhaps it had been the king's intention to procure his election by the Romans, and afterwards to be crowned by the pope, as the Greek emperors, after having been elected by the representatives of their subjects, were crowned by the patriarch of Constantinople; whereas he had now been surprised into receiving the empire from the pope, when the acclamations of the Romans did not precede, but followed or, the imposition of the crown by Leo.[o] Although, however, the pope's act was capable of an interpretation agreeable to the claims of his successors in later times, such claims appear to have been unknown in the age of Charlemagne; and Leo, after having placed the crown on his brow, was the first to do homage to him as a subject of the empire.[p]

By the coronation of Charles, Rome was finally separated from the Greek empire, and again became the acknowledged capital of the west, while the emperor was invested with the double character of head of western Christendom and representative of the ancient civilization.[q]

[n] Luden, iv. 420-4.

[o] Funck, 'Ludwig der Fromme,' 143; Ellendorf, i. 198-9. Cf. Waitz, iii. 175. Ozanam suggests that Charles was averse from sinking his German nationality in the traditions of Rome, and that he did not for some time accommodate himself to the change (362). But the Capitul. Aquisgr. of 802, which M. Ozanam quotes, seems to be against this.

[p] Giannone, i 511, seqq.; Schröckh, xix. 605; Neander, v. 165; Milman, i. 207-8.

[q] Sismondi, ii. 383; Milman, ii. 207-8; Waitz, iii. 177-9.

The Byzantine court was naturally offended by a step which appeared to invade its rights both of dignity and of sovereignty; but Charles, by a conciliatory policy, overcame the irritation: his imperial title was acknowledged by the ambassadors of Nicephorus in 812, and the Greek emperors addressed his son as emperor, although not of Rome, but of the Franks.[r]

The reign of Charles the Great,[s] or Charlemagne, from the time of his father's death, extended to nearly half a century. His fame rests not only on his achievements as a warrior and as a conqueror, but on his legislation and administration both in civil and in ecclesiastical affairs; on his care for the advancement of learning, of commerce, of agriculture, of architecture, and the other arts of peace; on the versatility and capacity of a mind which embraced the smallest as well as the greatest details of the vast and various system of which he was the head. His wars, aggressive in their form, were essentially defensive; his purpose was to consolidate the populations which had settled in the territories of the western empire, and to secure them against the assaults of newer migrations. Carrying his A.D. 768-814.

[r] Einhard, Vita Car. 28; Schlosser, 281; Martin, ii. 487; Waitz, iii. 180. The question whether Charlemagne's imperial title was intended to supersede that of the Byzantines—either on the supposition that the empire was *transferred* from the east to the west (Gesta Epp. Metens. Patrol. clxiii. 593; Baron. 800. 91-3), or that he was chosen to fill the place vacated by the dethronement of Constantine VI. (Chron. Laurisham. A.D. 801, Pertz, i. 38; Chron. Moissiac. ib. 305; Palgrave, English Commonwealth, i. 489-92; Normandy and England, i. 29; Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, London, 1866),—need not be here discussed. See Mr. Hallam's remarks, Suppl. Notes, 26-8. In later times the emperors of the east and of the west quarrelled about the title, each of them assuming it for himself while he styled the other *king*. For the Byzantine view of the question, see Cinnamus, v. 10; for the western view, Henry of Hervord, 39. John of Paris, A.D. 1305, denies the translation. Goldast. de Monarchia, ii. 140.

[s] The epithet *Magnus* was not given to him until after his death (Pagi, xiii. 536), but the name is so established in history that the attempts to get rid of it are not likely to be successful. M. Michelet asserts that the name *Charlemagne* is not formed from *Carolus Magnus*, but from *Carloman* (ii. 33). But his arguments are ridiculous.

arms against those from whom he had reason to apprehend an attack, he extended his dominions to the Eider and to the Ebro, over Brittany and Aquitaine, far towards the south of Italy, and eastward to the Theiss and the Save.[t] The impression which he produced on the Greeks is shown by their proverb, "Have the Frank for thy friend, but not for thy neighbour."[u] His influence and authority reached from Scotland to Persia; the great caliph Haroun al Raschid exchanged presents with him, and sent him by way of compliment the keys of the holy sepulchre;[x] and, although the empire of Charlemagne was broken up after his death, the effect of its union remained in the connexion of western Christendom by one common bond.[y] With so much that is grand and noble, there was, indeed, in Charlemagne not a little that deserves reprobation. The seizure of his brother's dominions to the exclusion of his nephews was an injustice altogether without excuse; his policy was sometimes stern, even to cruelty; and his personal conduct was stained by an excessive dissoluteness, which continued even to his latest years, and of which the punishment was believed to have been revealed by visions after his death.[z] But with this exception, his private character appears such as to increase the admiration which is due to his greatness as a sovereign. He was in general mild, open, and generous;

[t] Guizot, ii. 188-91.

[u] Einhard, 15.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Quart. Rev. xlviii. 423. See too Luden, v. 185-6; Waitz, iv. 535; Giesebr. i. 108-9; and Sir J. Stephen's Third Lecture on Modern History.

[z] Visio S. Wettini, ap. Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. v. 265, seqq. Cf. Annal. ii. 492, where Mabillon treats the vision as very questionable. "I padri Bollandisti, ed altri, considerate tante virtù, e massimamente la religione di questo gran principe, hanno sustenuto che si fatte concubine fossero mogli di coscienza; mogli, come suol dirsi, della mano sinistra; e però lecite, e non contrarie agl'insegnamenti della chiesa, la quale poi solamente nel Concilio di Trento diede un migliore regolamento al sacro contratto del matrimonio. Si ciò ben suffista, ne lascerò io ad altri la decisione" (Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 209). The vision of Wettin is enough to expose this supposition

his family affections were warm, and his friendships were sincere and steady.[a]

The wars of Charlemagne against the barbarians were not religious in their origin; but religion soon became involved in them. His conquests carried the gospel in their train, and, mistaken as were some of the means which were employed for its propagation, the result was eventually good.[b] Of his fifty-three campaigns, eighteen were against the Saxons of Germany.[c] Between this people and the Franks war had been waged from time to time for two hundred years. Sometimes the Franks penetrated to the Weser, and imposed a tribute which was irregularly paid; sometimes the Saxons pushed their incursions as far as the Rhine; and on the borders of the territories the more uncivilized of each nation carried on a constant system of pillage and petty annoyance against their neighbours.[d] The Saxon tribes were divided into three great associations—the Westphalians, the Angarians, and the Ostphalians; they had no king, and were accustomed to choose a leader only in the case of a national war.[e] Their valour is admitted even by the Frankish writers; the perfidy which is described as characteristic of them may in some degree be explained and palliated by the fact that they were without any central government which could make engagements binding on the whole nation.[f]

The war with the Saxons lasted thirty-three years—from 772 to 805. In the first campaign, Charlemagne destroyed the great national idol called the Irminsul, which stood in a mountainous and woody district near Eresburg (now Stadtberg).[g] The Saxons retaliated in

[a] Einhard, 19.

[b] Rettb. ii. 374, 394.

[c] See a list of his expeditions in Guizot, ii. 186.

[d] Einhard, 7; Rettb. ii. 382.

[e] Poëta Saxo, ap. Pertz, i. 228. See Luden, iv. 277.
Martin, ii. 258; Milman, ii. 220.

[g] Einhard, A.D. 772. What the Irminsul was, is matter of conjecture.

the following year by attacking the monasteries and churches planted on their frontiers, killing or driving out the monks and clergy, and laying the country waste as far as the Rhine.[h] Sturmi, the successor of Boniface, was obliged to fly from Fulda, carrying with him the relics of his master.[i] The Saxons associated their old idolatry with their nationality, and the gospel with the interest of the Franks.[k]

A passage in the life of St. Lebuin has been connected with the origin of the Saxon war, but ought probably to be referred to a somewhat later date.[l] Lebuin, an Englishman, had preached with much success and had built several churches among the Frisians about the Yssel, when an incursion of the neighbouring heathens disturbed him in his labours. On this he determined boldly to confront the enemies of Christianity in all their force, and, undeterred by the warnings of his friends, he

The last syllable, which answers to the modern German *Säule*, may, like that word, denote either a *pillar* or a *statue*. By some writers it is supposed that the Irminsul was a statue of Hermes! (see Meibohm, cited below). Others think that *Irmin* means the German hero Herman or Arminius, and that the *sul* was a figure of him. (See Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, 327.) This is the opinion of Luden (iv. 282-4, 520), although he thinks that the Saxons, while they retained the name, had lost the memory of its origin. But it would seem rather that *irmin* is an adjective, meaning *strong*, *powerful* (Rettb. ii. 385), or *universal* (Grimm, 104); and thus the *Irminsul* is supposed to have been a huge trunk of a tree, placed erect, and regarded by the Saxons as supporting the universe. (See Adam of Bremen, i. 8, in Pertz, vii. 285.) Grimm (759) renders it "altissima, universalis columna," and connects the Irminsul with the tree Yggdrasil of Scandinavian mythology (for which see Thorpe, Northern Mythology, i. 11-13, Lond. 1851). Comp. Schröckh, xix. 256; Turner, i. 222-6; Pfister, i. 417; Pertz, iii. 423 (note on Widukind, i. 12); Milman, ii. 219; Herzog, iii. 161. Dean Milman appears to me to have somewhat misrepresented Luden's feeling as to the destruction of this monument. Meibohm, in vol. iii. of his Germ. Rerum Scriptores, has a dissertation on the subject, and mentions (18, 31) a story that the monument was not destroyed, but was buried by command of Charlemagne, and being afterwards dug up, was placed in the cathedral of Hildesheim—evidently a fable invented for the sake of identifying it with an alabaster pillar which serves as a candelabrum in that church.

[h] Poëta Saxo, ap. Pertz, i. 230; Rettb. ii. 375, 404.

[i] Eigil, Vita Sturm. 24 (Patrol. cv.).

[k] Rettb. ii. 383.

[l] Ib. 406

appeared in his pontifical robes before the national assembly of the Saxons, which was held at Marklo, on the Weser. He spoke to them of the true God, he denounced their idolatry, and told them that, unless they would receive the gospel and be baptized, God had decreed their ruin by means of a powerful king, not from afar, but from their own neighbourhood, who would sweep them away like a torrent. The effect of such an address was to exasperate the Saxons violently; and it was with difficulty that some members of the assembly saved the zealous missionary from the rage of their brethren. The pagans burnt his church at Deventer, and in consequence of this outrage Charlemagne with the Franks, who were informed of it when met in council at Worms, resolved on an expedition against them.[m]

The absence of Charlemagne on expeditions in other quarters, as in Italy or in Spain, was always a signal for a rising of the Saxons. After a time, as we are told by an annalist of his reign,[n] he was provoked by their repeated treacheries to resolve on the conversion or extermination of the whole race. In his attempts at conversion, however, he met with difficulties which it would seem that he had not expected. Whenever the Saxons were defeated, multitudes of them submitted to baptism without any knowledge or belief of Christian doctrine;[o] but on the first opportunity they revolted, and again professed the religion of their fathers. The long war was carried on with much loss on both sides; on one occasion Charlemagne beheaded 4500 prisoners, who had been given up to him as having shared in the last insurrection;[p] and this frightful bloodshed, instead of striking the expected A.D. 782.

[m] Vit. S. Lebuini, ap. Pertz, ii. 362-3 See Luden, iv. 281.

[n] Einhard, A.D. 775.

[o] 'Solitâ simulatione," says the annalist. Einh. A.D. 780; comp. Vit. Car. 7.

[p] Einhard, A.D. 782; Poëta Saxo ap. Pertz, i. 238; Ozanam, 249

terror into the barbarians, excited them to an unusually wide-spread and formidable rising in the following year.[q] A chief named Widikind had thus far been the soul of the Saxon movements. After every reverse, he contrived to escape to Denmark, where he found a refuge with the king, who was his brother-in-law; and when his countrymen were ripe for a renewal of their attempts, he reappeared to act as their leader. But in 785, having secured a promise of impunity, he surrendered himself, together with his brother Abbo, and was baptized at Attigny, where Charlemagne officiated as his sponsor; and—whether an intelligent conviction contributed to his change of religious profession, whether it arose solely from despair of the Saxon cause, or whether his conversion was merely to a belief in that God whose worshippers had been proved the stronger party — his engagements to the king were faithfully kept.[r] The Saxons were now subdued as far as the Elbe, and many of the fiercer idolaters among them sought an asylum in Scandinavia, where they joined the piratical bands which had already begun their plundering expeditions, and which were soon to become the terror of the more civilized nations of Europe.[s]

Charlemagne proceeded to enact a law of extreme severity.[t] It denounced the penalty of death against the refusal of baptism; against burning the bodies of the dead, after the manner of the pagans; against eating flesh in Lent, if this were done in contempt of Christianity; against setting fire to churches or violently entering them and robbing them; against the murder of bishops, priests,

[q] Sismondi, ii. 294; Luden, iv. 337.

[r] Einhard, A.D. 785; Martin, ii. 300; Rettb. ii. 407-8. See the Acta SS., Jan. 7, where a story, apparently of later date, is told, that he was converted by seeing a beautiful child entering the mouths of communicants on Easter-day. (p. 384.)

[s] Einhard, Vita Car. 14; Gibbon, iv. 500; Rettb. ii. 384.

[t] "Capitula de partibus Saxoniæ" (Paderborn, A.D. 785). Pertz, Leges, i. 48-50.

or deacons; against the offering of human sacrifices, and against some barbaric superstitions.[u] All persons were to pay a tenth part of their "substance and labour" to the church.[x] All children were to be baptized within a year from their birth, and parents who should neglect to comply with the law in this respect were to be fined in proportion to their quality. Fines were also enacted against those who should sacrifice in groves or do any other act of pagan worship. In the case of those offences which were punishable with death, the law did not admit the pecuniary commutations which are commonly found in the Germanic codes; but instead of them there was the remarkable provision, that, if any person guilty of such offences would of his own accord confess them to a priest, and express a desire to do penance, his life should be spared on the testimony of the priest.[y] The rigour of this decree was unlike the general spirit of Charlemagne's legislation, nor was it intended to be lasting. After having been in force twelve years, the capitulary was modified by one of milder character, which again allowed the principle of composition for capital offences.[z]

The conversion of the Saxons was urged on by a variety of measures. Gifts and threats were employed to

[u] "Si quis a diabolo deceptus crediderit, secundum morem paganorum, virum aliquem aut fœminam strigam esse et homines comedere, et propter hoc ipsam incenderit, vel *carnem ejus ad comedendum dederit, vel ipsam comederit*, capitis sententia punietur." (c. 6.) On the words in italics, which are clearly directed against superstition, Ozanam absurdly founds a charge of cannibalism against the Germans (227; comp. Rettb. ii. 390). Grimm contrasts this law with the superstition which has prevailed in some places even to our own times—"It is not witchcraft, but the killing of supposed witches, that the enlightened law denounces as diabolical and heathen." Deutsche Mythol. 1021.

[x] By a constitution of the preceding year (784) the Saxons were bound to annex a glebe (*mansus*) to every church, and to pay tenths and ninths (payments which will be explained hereafter) to the bishops and clergy. (Pertz, Leges, ii. Append. 1.) But the document is questionable, and the learned editor especially suspects the order as to the ninths.

[y] C. 14.

[z] Capitul. Saxon. A.D. 797 (Pertz, Leges, i. 75); comp. Rettb. ii. 591.

gain them.[a] Charlemagne offered them union with the Franks on equal terms, freedom from tribute, and exemption from all other imposts except tithes.[b] Bishopricks were gradually established among them, monasteries were founded in thinly inhabited districts, towns grew up around these new foundations, and each became a centre for diffusing the knowledge of religion and of civilization.[c] The Saxon youths who were received as hostages were committed to bishops and abbots for instruction;[d] and by a strong measure of policy, ten thousand Saxons were in 804 removed from their own country into the older Frankish territory, where they became incorporated with the conqueror's original subjects.[e]

A like system of extending the profession of the gospel with his conquests was pursued by Charlemagne in other quarters—as among the Frisians, the Wiltzes (a Slavonic people north of the Elbe), the Bavarians, the Avars in Pannonia, and the Bohemians. Among the missionaries who were most distinguished in the work of conversion were Gregory, abbot of Utrecht;[f] Liudger, a Frisian, who had studied under Alcuin at York, and became bishop of Mimigardeneford (Munster);[g] Willehad, a Northumbrian, bishop of Bremen;[h] Sturmi, of Fulda, and Arno, archbishop of Salzburg.[i] Ingo, who laboured in Carinthia, may be mentioned on account of the singular means which he took to convince the heathens of their inferior condition—admitting some Christian slaves

[a] Alcuin, Ep. 3 (A.D. 790).

[b] Einh. Vita Car. 7; Rettb. ii. 409-10.

[c] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. III. xxxiii.; Ozanam, 260. For the dates of the Saxon bishopricks, see Schröckh, xix. 270; Rettb. ii. 417; Giesel. II. i. 143.

[d] See a list in Pertz, Leges, I. 89 (A.D. 802). This was repeatedly done. Rettb. ii. 392.

[e] Einhard, 7; Rettb. ii. 392.

[f] See p. 81.

[g] Vita S. Liudgeri, Pertz, ii. 405, seqq. On the name of his see, see Rettb. ii. 429.

[h] Vita S. Willeh., Pertz, ii. 380.

[i] Schröckh, xix. 288; Rettb. ii. 238. Alcuin in his letters calls Arno *brother*, which has been supposed to mean that they were related in that degree (Acta SS., Mai. 19, p. 333); but he also calls him *father* and *son*. Rettb. ii. 237.

to his own table, while for their unconverted masters food was set outside the door, as for dogs. The inquiries to which this distinction gave rise are said to have resulted in a great accession of converts.[k]

But although the policy of Charlemagne did much to spread the profession of Christianity, the means which he employed were open to serious objection. The enforcement of tithes naturally raised a prejudice against the faith of which this payment was made a condition, and in 793 it even produced a revolt of the Saxons.[l] Alcuin often remonstrated against the unwise exaction.[m] He acknowledged the lawfulness of tithes; but how, he asked, would an impost which was ill borne even by persons who had been brought up in the catholic church, be endured by a rude and barbarous race of neophytes? Would the apostles have enforced it in such circumstances? When confirmed in the faith, the converts might properly be subjected to burdens of this kind; but until then, it would be a grievous error to risk the faith itself for the sake of tithes. In like manner he argued against the indiscriminate administration of baptism. Instruction, he said, should first be given in the great heads of Christian doctrine and practice, and then the sacrament should follow. Baptism may be forced on men, but belief cannot. Baptism received without understanding or faith by a person capable of reason, is but an unprofitable washing of the body.[n] He urges that new converts should be treated with great

[k] Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum, c. 7 (Pertz, xi.). John of Vichtring speaks of Ingo as a duke, and traces to this story a strange usage —that the investiture of the Corinthian princes was performed not by nobles, but by serfs (Böhmer, Fontes, i. 320). Yet, although he has been followed in this (as by Ginzel, p. 69), the original writer's words, "quorum unus," seem to mean that Ingo was one of the missionaries sent by Arno, not one of the counts and dukes to whom they were sent.

[l] Einh. A.D. 793; Döllinger, i. 319.

[m] Epp. 28, 31, 37, 79, 80, etc.

[n] Ep. 31.

tenderness, and that able preachers, of such character as may not bring discredit on their teaching, should be sent to instruct them.[o]

During the latter part of the Merovingian period, learning had continually declined. A new era of intellectual activity now began.[p] Charlemagne himself made earnest efforts to repair the defects of his early training. He began in mature age to learn the art of writing; but, although he practised diligently, he never attained facility in it, or, at least, he was unable to master the difficulties of the ornamental caligraphy on which the professional scribes of the time prided themselves.[q] We are told that he became as familiar with Latin as with his mother tongue, and that, although he could not express himself with readiness in Greek, he was well acquainted with the language.[r] The object of his endeavours was necessarily rather to revive the ancient Roman culture than to originate a new literature;[s] yet, while he encouraged the study of the classic languages among his subjects, he did not neglect his native German; he laboured to raise it to the rank of a cultivated tongue by reducing it to a grammatical system, he collected its old heroic ballads, and gave Teutonic names to the winds and to the

[o] Ep. 87.

[p] Guizot, iii. 207, 330; Ampère, iii. 2; Ellendorf, i. 309.

[q] "Tentabat et scribere, *tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum literis effingendis assuesceret;* sed parum successit labor præposterus et sero inchoatus." (Einhard, 25.) From this it has been inferred that he could not write. (Gibbon, iv. 50 —who, by omitting the words here printed in italics, deprives his readers of a somewhat important part of the evidence; Sismondi, ii. 319; Hallam, ii. 351, and Suppl. Notes, 388.) The meaning, however, seems rather to be that he *could* write, although not well or easily. Pagi (xiii. 154), the authors of the Histoire Littéraire de la France (iv. 370), Schröckh (xx. 48), Ampère (iii. 36-8), Bähr (Karolingische Litteratur, 15), and Ozanam (530), understand the words to relate not to ordinary but to ornamental writing. That the emperor used a mark by way of signature, does not, as has been sometimes supposed, prove that he was unable to write his name. See Maitland, "Dark Ages," 13-15.

[r] Einhard, 25.

[s] Bähr, Karol. Litt. 18.

months.[t] Nor, although his care for the German speech was little seconded in his own time,[u] and although Latin had become the authorized language of the church, were the emperor's exertions in this respect without effect; for a vernacular literature now arose which had much influence on the education of the people. Among its remains are poems and hymns, metrical harmonies of the Gospels, and glosses on the Bible for the use of the clergy.[x]

The instruments of the intellectual reform which Charlemagne contemplated were not to be found in his own dominions. He therefore sought for them from Italy and from the British islands, the only countries of the west in which the study of general learning was then pursued.[y] The chief of these were Paul Warnefrid, a Lombard, Peter of Pisa, and—the most important for talents, for influence, and for the length of his labours among the Franks—Alcuin, a native of Northumbria.

Alcuin (or Albinus) was born about the year 735.[z] After having studied in the cathedral school of York, under archbishop Egbert, brother of the Northumbrian king Eadbert, he was ordained a deacon,[a] and became master of the school, which he raised to such reputation that many foreigners resorted to it for instruction.[b] He had already visited the Continent, when Eanbald, his old

[t] Einhard, 29.

[u] See Luden, iv. 209-10, 570.

[x] Giesel. II. i. 91-2.

[y] The monk of St. Gall who wrote a gossiping and not very authentic life of Charlemagne—deriving his materials chiefly from the current popular stories of his time (Hist. Litt. v. 616; Bähr, 238; Gaston Paris, Hist. Poétique de Charlemagne, Paris, 1865, p. 41)—tells us that the emperor, finding the means of intellectual cultivation far short of his wishes, exclaimed, "Would that I had twelve clerks as learned as Jerome and Augustine!" To which Alcuin replied, "The Creator of heaven and earth has had no more like those two; and *you* would have twelve!" Pertz, ii. 734.

[z] Vita Alcuini, in Froben's edition of his works, or Patrol. c.; Lorenz, Life of Alcuin, transl. by Jane M. Slee, London, 1837; Alcuin, par F. Mounier, Paris, 1853.

[a] Mounier (17) and others say that Mabillon (Elog. Hist. in Alc. c. 3; Patrol. c.) is mistaken in supposing him a monk.

[b] Vita, 2-5; Lorenz, 8-11.

fellow-pupil, on being promoted to the see of York in 782, sent him to Rome for the purpose of bringing back the pall, the symbol of the archiepiscopal dignity which had been recovered for York by Egbert after having been suspended since the time of Paulinus.[c] At Parma, Alcuin fell in with Charlemagne, who invited him to settle in France. With the permission of his own king and of Eanbald, he accepted the proposal; and he was appointed to the mastership of the Palatine school,[d] an institution which had existed under the Merovingians,[e] and was now revived. This school accompanied the movements of the court. The pupils were the members of the royal family, with noble youths who belonged to the household, or had been permitted by the sovereign to partake of the education thus provided.[f] Charlemagne himself, his sons, his daughters, and some of his courtiers, became the scholars of Alcuin.[g] It has been supposed that they formed an academy, in which each bore the name of some ancient worthy; thus Charles himself is styled David, Alcuin is Flaccus, Angilbert (son-in-law of Charlemagne, and afterwards abbot of Centulles) is Homer. But the only evidence in favour of the supposition is the fact that such names are used in correspondence.[h] Alcuin's instructions were given rather in the form of conversation than of lectures.[i] He taught the seven sciences which were distinguished as liberal, and were afterwards classified under the titles of *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*—the

A.D. 782-796.

[c] Raine, 106.

[d] Lorenz (12-14), Pagi (xiii. 154), and Luden (iv. 384. 552), think that, although he visited France in 782, he did not settle there until 793.

[e] See Hist. Litt. iii. 424; Pitra, Vie de S. Léger; Ozanam, 459.

[f] Crevier, i. 47; Ozanam, 459-64, 537; Giesel. II. i. 84.

[g] Einhard, 19.

[h] See Schröckh, xix. 50-2; Guizot, ii. 242; Lorenz, 20-48, 150-2; Mounier, 56, 88; Luden, v. 206, 568.

[i] Guizot, ii. 238. The dialogue between Alcuin and the prince Pipin (Patrol. ci. 975-80), which M. Guizot quotes as a specimen of the teaching, is, however, said to be really translated or copied from a Greek work of the time of Hadrian. Finlay, ii. 268.

Trivium consisting of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics; the Quadrivium comprising arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy; while above these two classes theology held a place by itself.[k] Alcuin's writings on these subjects contain little of an original kind, and may be regarded as mere notebooks of his teaching.[l] His other works are very various—commentaries on Scripture, liturgical treatises, tracts on the controversies of the age and on practical religion, poems, lives of saints, and a large collection of letters. They appear to be justly described as displaying more of labour than of genius, more of memory than of invention or taste,[m] but in estimating the merit of the man we are bound to compare him with his contemporaries. His work was that of a reviver.[n]

Alcuin was not only the instructor of Charlemagne in religion and letters, but his most confidential adviser in affairs of state. After having taught the Palatine school for fourteen years (with the interval of a visit to his native country), he became weary of a court life, and expressed a wish to retire to Fulda for the remainder of his days; but Charlemagne provided another retreat for him, by bestowing on him the abbacy of St. Martin at Tours, a monastery of great wealth, but then notorious for the disorderly character of its inmates;[o] and with this he retained some other preferments which he had before received. Alcuin in some measure reformed the monks of St. Martin's, although an affray in which they were concerned towards the

A.D. 796.

[k] Isid. Hispal. Etymolog. i. 2 (Patrol. lxxxii.); Ampère, iii. 73-4; Rettb. ii. 798. See Joh. Sarisbur. Metalog. i. 12, seqq. (Patrol. cxcix.). The first mention of this cycle of sciences is in St. Augustine, De Ordine, ii. 12-15 (Patrol. xxxii.). The word *quadrivium* (in the special sense) is first found in Boëthius de Arithmetica (i. 1). Giesel. II. i. 82. See, however, Hauréau, i. 20-1.

[l] Mounier, 30, seqq.

[m] Fleury. xlv. 19. [n] Bähr, 348.

[o] Vita, 6; Lorenz, 131; Mouniet, 236-8.

end of his life proves that the reformation was by no means perfect.[p] He enriched the library of the abbey by importing books from England, and under his government its school attained great fame. We are told by his old biographer that he would not allow the pupils to read the "falsehoods" of Virgil, in which he had formerly delighted, and that when one of them secretly transgressed the rule, Alcuin by supernatural knowledge detected him.[q] Among his scholars during this period were Raban Maur, afterwards abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mentz, Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, and other eminent men of the next generation.[r] He kept up a frequent correspondence with Charlemagne on politics, literature, science, and theology; and (as we shall see hereafter) he continued to take part in the controversies of the time. From some expressions in his letters it appears that he was dissatisfied on account of the novelties introduced into the teaching of the Palatine school by his successor, an Irishman named Clement.[s] At length he obtained the emperor's leave to devolve the care of discipline in each of his monasteries on younger men,[t] and he died in 804.[u]

Charlemagne was bent on promoting education among every class of his subjects.[x] He urged his nobles to study, and loudly reproved those who considered their position as an excuse for negligence.[y] The laity were required to learn the creed and the Lord's prayer,—in

[p] To this affair relate Epp. 118, 119, 195. Charlemagne was very angry with the monks, and with Alcuin for supporting them in their misconduct. See his letter, in Bouquet, v. 628.

[q] Vita, 10. See Maitland, "Dark Ages," No. xi.

[r] Hist. Litt. iv. 14, Lorenz, 169-73. For the eminent men formed under Charlemagne and Alcuin, see Froben, De Vita Alc. c. 10; Ellendorf, i. 315; Mounier, 188.

[s] Ep. 82, Patrol. c. 266; see Mounier, 95-9.

[t] Epp. 175-6.

[u] Schröckh, xix. 87.

[x] On this subject there is much information in Du Boulay's 'Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis,' although the author is mistaken in supposing the emperor to have founded the university.

[y] Monach. Sangall. i. 3.

Latin, if possible, with a view to bringing them within the Roman influence. Fasting and blows were sometimes denounced against any who should disobey.[z] But it was found that the hardness of the task was regarded by many persons as even more formidable than such penalties; and it also appeared that many of the clergy were themselves unable to teach the forms in Latin. The re-enactments and the mitigations of such rules sufficiently prove how difficult it was to carry them into execution.[a] The clergy were charged to explain the creed and the Lord's prayer to their people,[b] and sponsors at baptism were required to prove their acquaintance with both forms.[c]

With a view to improve the education of the clergy, Charlemagne ordered in 769 that any clergyman who should disregard his bishop's admonitions to learn should be suspended or deprived.[d] In 787 he issued a circular to all metropolitans, bishops, and abbots, complaining of the incorrect style which appeared in many letters addressed to him from monasteries. This want of skill in writing, he says, leads him to apprehend that there may be also an inability to understand the language of Scripture rightly; he therefore orders that competent masters should be established, and that study should be diligently urged on.[e] Two years later he ordered that there should be a school in every cathedral and monastery, open not only to the servile class (from which the clergy were usually taken), but to the free-born; that instruction should be given in psalmody, music, grammar, and *computum* (a term which denoted the art of reckoning in general, but

[z] Capit. A.D. 804 (Pertz, Leges, i. 130); Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 45.

[a] Giesel. II. i. 90-1; Rettb. ii. 36, 454-6.

[b] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 69. Hatto, bishop of Basel, about 820, orders that the forms shall be learnt "tam Latine quam barbarice." Hard. iv. 1240.

[c] Capit. A.D. 804 (Pertz, Leges, i. 128).

[d] Ib. 34.

[e] Encycl. de litteris colendis. Ib. 52.

more especially the calculation of the calendar);[f] and that care should be taken for the correct transcription of the service-books.[g] He employed Paul Warnefrid to compile a book of homilies from the fathers, and published it with a preface in his own name.[h] These homilies were arranged according to the ecclesiastical seasons. It seems to have been at first intended that they should be read in Latin, the language of both the church and the state; and that it was a concession to national feeling when councils of the emperor's last year directed the clergy, in using them, to render them into a tongue intelligible to the people—whether the "rustic Roman" of Gaul, or the Teutonic.[i] As the manuscripts of the Scriptures had been generally much corrupted by the carelessness of copyists, Charlemagne, with Alcuin's assistance, provided for the multiplication of correct copies.[k] While the pupils of the schools were employed in transcribing the less important books for churches, none but persons of mature age were allowed to write the gospels, the psalter, or the missal.[l] Manuscripts were acquired for libraries from England, Italy, and Greece.[m] Presbyters were before ordination to be examined as to their faith, as to their knowledge of the creed and the Lord's prayer, of the canons, the penitential, the gospels, the homilies, the public services, the rites of baptism

[f] Ducange in voc.

[g] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 71. Cf. Conc. Cabillon. A.D. 813, c. 3. For an account of the most famous cathedral and monastic schools under Charlemagne, see Hist. Litt. iv. 12-17.

[h] See Patrol. xcv. 1154, seqq.

[i] Bouquet, v. 622; Pertz, Leges, i. 45; Conc. Rem. II. (813), c. 15; Conc. Turon. III. (813), c. 17.

[k] Capit. A.D. 782 (Pertz, Leges, i. 45); Hist. Litt. iv. 19-20; Schröckh, xix. 48-9; xx. 197.

[l] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 71.

[m] Lorenz, 56. A Reims Pontifical of the 9th century, in the coronation service, directs the archbishop to pray, "Ut [Deus] regale solum, videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordanhymbrorumque sceptra non deserat"—a curious evidence as to the quarter from which the office was borrowed (Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' i. 283; Maskell, Monum. Rit. iii. 14; comp. Martene, ii. 217, 225), although it gives no warrant for M. Ozanam's opinion as to the coronation of Pipin. (See p. 80, note [k].)

and the eucharist, and their power of instructing their flocks.[n]

In addition to the education of the clergy, a new feature appears in the articles of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, where it is ordered that in every parish the clergy should provide a school for free-born children as well as for serfs. The payment for instruction was to be only such as the parents of the pupils should freely give. The bishop also invites the clergy to send their relations to the monastic schools.[o] But the attempt to establish parochial schools does not appear to have been carried far even in the diocese of Orleans, and there is no evidence of its having been imitated elsewhere.[p]

Charlemagne paid much deference to the usages of Rome, as the most venerable church of the west. He obtained from Adrian the Roman code of canons (which was founded on the collection of Dionysius Exiguus), and in 789 he published such of them as he considered necessary for his own dominions.[q] The Roman method of chanting had already been introduced into Gaul. Pope Paul had sent books of it to Pipin, and had endeavoured to procure its establishment; but although he was supported by Pipin in the attempt,[r] the Gallican chant still prevailed. During Charlemagne's third visit to Rome, in 787, disputes arose between the Frankish and the Roman clergy on the subject of the liturgy and the chant. The Franks relied on the king's protection; but to their dismay he asked them, "Which is the purer—

[n] Capit. A.D. 802 (Pertz, Leges, i. 107). Cf. Capit. A.D. 811 (ib. 171).

[o] Theodulph. Capit. 19-20 (A.D. 797), Hard. iv. 916.

[p] Guizot, ii. 259; Giesel. II. i. 90.

[q] Comp. Hard. iii. 2033, seqq., with iv. 826, or Pertz, Leges, i. 54. Sirmond thinks that the canons were procured on his third visit to Rome, in 787, rather than (as is most commonly said) on his first visit, in 774. Patrol lxvii. 135-8.

[r] See Capit. A.D. 789. 79, ap. Pertz, Leges, i. 60; Pagi, xii. 645; Ducange, s. v. *Cantus Romanus*. Walafrid Strabo connects the introduction of the Roman chant into France with the visit of Stephen II. to Pipin. De Rebus Eccles. c. 25 (Patrol. cxiv. 957).

the stream or the source?"—a question which admitted but of one answer; and on this answer he acted.[s] He carried back into France two skilful clerks to teach the Roman chant, and stationed one of them at Metz, while the other was attached to the court.[t] He also established the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great in the Frankish church;[u] it is even said that, in his zeal for conformity to Rome, he endeavoured to suppress the Ambrosian forms at Milan, by destroying the service-books, or carrying them "as if into exile" across the Alps; but that miracles came to the rescue of the venerable ritual, so that Pope Adrian, who had instigated the attempt against it, was brought to acquiesce in the local use of it.[x] Charlemagne paid special attention to the solemnity of divine worship. The great church which he built at his favourite place of residence, Aix-la-Chapelle, was adorned with marble pillars from Rome and Ravenna, and was furnished with vestments for all its clergy, down to the meanest of the doorkeepers.[y] He diligently frequented the services of his chapel[z] both by day and

[s] Monach. Engolism. ap. Pertz, i. 171; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 892, c. 3. See Schubiger, 'Die Sängerschule St. Gallens,' Einsiedeln, 1858, pp. 4-5, 25.

[t] Libri Carol. i. 6 (Patrol. xcviii.); Mon. Sangall. i. 11 (ib.); Guéranger, i. 251-4. The rough voices of the Franks were still complained of, as in the time of Gregory the Great (see vol. ii. p. 372). The monk of Angoulême tells us that they learnt the Roman chant, "excepto quod tremulas vel vinnulas sive collisibiles vel secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfecte exprimere Franci, naturali vero barbarica frangentes in gutture voces potius quam exprimentes" (Pertz, i. 171). The editor shows, from Isidore of Seville (Etymol. III. xx. 13), that the epithet *vinnulus* or *vinnulatus* comes from *vinnus*, a curl—*cincinnus molliter flexus*.

[u] Adrian. in Patrol. xcviii. 436.

[x] The only authority for this is the elder Landulf, a Milanese chronicler who wrote two centuries later (Hist. Mediol. ii. 10-12, Patrol. cxlvii.). He says that many of the Milanese clergy were slain in defence of their books.

[y] Einhard, 17, 26; Adrian. ad Carol. Patrol. xcviii. 371; Poëta Saxo, l. v. (Patrol. xcix. 731-2); Gibbon, vi. 420.

[z] The chapel of the Frank kings was so called from the *cappa* or cloak of St. Martin, which was kept in it (Monach. Sangall. i. 4; Walafr. Strabo, De Reb. Eccl. 31, Patrol. cxiv.; Durand. Rationale Div. Offic. II. x. 8; Ducange, s. v. *Capella*). Thomassin, however (I. ii. 109), identifies the word with *capsa*, a reliquary.

by night, and took great pains to improve the reading and the singing; "for," said Einhard, "he was very skilful in both, although he neither read publicly, nor sang, except in a low voice and together with others."[a] A biographer of more questionable authority tells us that he used to point with his finger or with his staff at any person[b] whom he wished to read; and when thus ordered to begin, or when warned by a cough[c] from the emperor to stop, the reader was expected to obey at once, without any regard to sense or to the division of sentences. Thus, it is said, all were kept in a state of continual attention, because each might be called on at any moment. No one could mark his own portion with his nail or with wax; and all became accomplished readers, even although they might be unable to understand the language and the matter.[d] Charlemagne himself is said to have composed hymns—among them the "Veni Creator Spiritus";[e] but as to that hymn, at least, the statement appears to be groundless.[f]

Charlemagne's ecclesiastical legislation was carried on by his own authority. He regarded it as the duty of a sovereign to watch over the spiritual and moral well-being of his subjects; he alleges the reforms of Josiah as a scriptural precedent for the part which he took in the regulation of the church.[g] Ecclesiastical subjects occupy more than a third of his capitularies.[h] The ecclesiastical as well as the other laws were proposed in the assemblies which were held yearly in spring[i] and in

[a] Einhard, 26.

[b] The writer's language seems to imply that he means to speak of the household in general, and not of the clergy only.

[c] "Sono gutturis."

[d] Monach. Sangall. i. 7.

[e] Guéranger, i. 188.

[f] It rests on the authority of Ekkehard's Life of Notker the Stammerer (c. 18, ap. Canis. III. ii.). Against it, see Mabill. in Patrol. cxxxi. 990.

[g] Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 789 (Pertz, Leges, i. 54).

[h] 415 out of 1126; Guizot, ii. 198. On the character of the capitularies, see ib. 230.

[i] Although the ancient name of *Märzfeld* was kept, the spring assemblies were commonly in May, or later. Waitz, iii. 470.

autumn, and which bore at once the character of synods and of *mallis* or parliaments.[k] The clergy and the laity sat together or separately, as was most convenient, according to the nature of the subjects proposed to them.[l] Discussion was allowed; but both the initiative and the decision belonged to the sovereign, and in his name the decrees were published.[m]

The coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, although it did not add to the power which he before possessed over his subjects, invested him with a new and indefinite majesty. He was no longer the chief of a nation of warriors, but the representative of the ancient Roman traditions and civilization—the anointed head of western Christendom.[n] The empire was to be a consecrated state, with the same ruler in ecclesiastical as in civil affairs, and this ruler directing all to the glory of God.[o] In 802 an oath of allegiance to Charles as emperor was required of those who had already sworn to him as king; and whereas such oaths had not before been imposed among the Franks, except on persons who held office or benefice under the crown, all males above the age of twelve were now required to swear.[p] The civil hierarchy in all its grades corresponded to the ecclesiastical;[q] and

[k] *Mallum* is derived "from *mathlian* (Gothic), to speak, discourse, converse, or parley." Palgrave, English Commonwealth, i. 536.

[l] Thus in 813 assemblies were convened at Arles, Mentz, Tours, and Châlons-sur-Saône. In these the bishops treated on matters of faith and discipline, the monks and abbots on monastic life, and the counts and judges on secular questions. See Hard. iv. 1008; Luden, v. 148; Palgrave, Engl. Commonwealth, i. 533; Waitz, iii. 463, seqq.

[m] De Marca, VI. xxv. 5; Baluz. Præf. ad Capitular. (Patrol. xcvii.); Pagi, xiii. 119; Guizot, ii. 194-6; Giesel. II. i. 57; Martin, ii. 276; Milman, ii. 223; Rettb. i. 424. For some strong expressions of synods as to Charlemagne's ecclesiastical position, see Ellendorf, i. 234-5.

[n] Hallam, i. 10, and Suppl. Notes, 27; Sism. ii. 383; Rettb. i. 432-5; Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 27-8; Milman, ii. 207.

[o] Pfister, i. 436; Palgrave, i. 397; Milman, ii. 211; Giesebrecht, i. 124; Waitz, iii. 197, seqq.

[p] Pertz, Leges, i. 91; Martin, ii. 344; Waitz, iii. 189, seqq.

[q] Walafr. Strabo, de Exord. 31 (Patrol. cxiv. 964); Waitz, iii. 367. Prof. Waitz, however, says that it is a

forthwith a new system of commissioners (*Missi Dominici*)[r] was set on foot. These were chosen partly from the higher ecclesiastics and partly from the laity. They were to be men superior to all suspicion, fear, or partiality; they were to make circuits for the inspection of both secular and spiritual matters; they were to control the local administrations; to take care of churches, of widows, orphans, and the poor; to exercise a censorship of morals; to redress wrongs, or to refer to the emperor such as were beyond their power; to see to the due execution of the laws which were passed in the national assemblies.[s] In spiritual as well as in temporal affairs, the emperor was regarded as the highest judge, beyond whom no appeal could be made;[t] in authorizing the canons of Adrian's collection, he omitted that canon of Sardica which prescribed in certain cases a reference to the bishop of Rome.[u] While he cultivated friendly relations with the popes, while he acknowledged them as the highest of bishops, and often consulted them and acted on their suggestions, the authority by which these were enforced on his subjects was his own; nor did the popes attempt to interfere with the powers which he claimed. On the conquest of Italy, he assumed the same control over the ecclesiastical affairs of that country which he had been accustomed to exercise in his hereditary kingdom, and the popes submitted to him as their lord and judge.[x] Lofty titles and flattering language

mistake to suppose the one copied from the other.

[r] Pfister, i. 452-3; Ellendorf, i. 257.

[s] See the instructions to them when first sent out, April 802, in Pertz, Leges, i. 197. Comp. De Marca, IV. vii. 6-8; Guizot, ii. 192; Rettb. i. 433-4, 456; Waitz, iii. 380, seqq.; Herzog, art. *Missi Dominici*.

[t] Gfrörer, 'Karolinger,' i. 74.

[u] See vol. i. p. 433, and compare the Roman with the Frank code (Patrol. lxvii. 178; xcvii. 152, seqq.; Giesel. II. i. 63).

[x] Giesel. II. i. 40-2; Rettb. ii. 439. M. Lehuërou, however, argues that he held his superiority over the Roman church in the character of its *Defensor*, like the advocates or vidames of lesser churches. (Instit. Mérov. et Carolingiennes, ii. 358 60.) At a later time it was said that Charlemagne exer-

were, indeed, often addressed by bishops and others of the Franks to the successors of St. Peter; but the real amount of the authority which these enjoyed during this period is to be measured by the facts of history, not by the exaggerations of rhetorical or interested compliment.[y]

CHAPTER VII.

THE EASTERN CHURCH — CONTROVERSIES OF CHARLEMAGNE'S AGE.

A.D. 775-814.

I. Constantine Copronymus was succeeded in 775 by his son Leo IV., who, although opposed to the worship of images, was of gentler and more tolerant character than the earlier princes of the Isaurian line. Although the laws of the iconoclastic emperors remained unaltered, the monks who had been persecuted and banished were now allowed to return; and a great excitement was raised by the reappearance of these confessors in the cause of the popular religion. The empress, Irene, was of an Athenian family noted for its devotion to images; she herself cherished an enthusiastic reverence for them, and, although her father-in-law Constantine had compelled her to forswear them, she appears to have thought that in so sacred a cause her oath was not binding. She now exerted her influence as far as she dared, and by her means some monks and other friends of images were

cised his ecclesiastical prerogatives by concession of the popes; but this idea is grounded on forged documents, in so far as it has any ground at all. Giesel. I. c.; Waitz.

[y] See Planck, ii. 769, 785, 797-8; Giesel. II. i. 60-1.

promoted to bishopricks, although for the time they were obliged to conceal their opinions.[a] For notwithstanding the general mildness of Leo's disposition, his feeling on the subject of images was strong; so that, when some of them had been found under Irene's pillow, he ordered certain great officers, who had been concerned in introducing them into the palace, to be flogged and tonsured; he put one of these officers, who had especially provoked him, to death; and he separated from the empress, although she denied all concern in the affair.[b]

After a reign of four years and a half Leo died,—more probably by a natural consequence of the illness with which he had long been afflicted, than either by a miracle of judgment on his impiety, or (as some modern writers have supposed) by poison;[c] and Irene was left in possession of the government, as guardian of her son Constantine VI., a boy only ten years old. The empress, however, felt that it was necessary A.D. 780. to proceed with caution in carrying out her wishes. She was, indeed, sure of the monks and of the populace: but the authority of a council which claimed the title of ecumenical[d] was against her; the great body of the bishops was opposed to images; and although the well-tried pliancy of the eastern clergy gave reasons for hoping that these might be gained, there was a strong iconoclastic party among the laity, while the soldiery adhered to the principles of the late emperor Constantine, whose memory was cherished among them as that

[a] Theophan. 696; Gibbon, iv. 412-13, 492; Schlosser, 250-3.

[b] Theophan. 701; Schlosser, 258-9. Mr. Finlay questions this story. ii. 83.

[c] Theophanes (702) says that Leo, being excessively fond of jewels, took down and wore a crown adorned with very precious gems, which hung in the cathedral; that in punishment of this sacrilege, carbuncles broke out in the spots where the crown had touched his head, and that he died in consequence. The supposition of poison is put forward, more or less positively, by Spanheim (789), Basnage (359), Mosheim (ii. 65), and, of course, by Gfrörer, who everywhere discovers mysterious crimes (ii. 155); but it is declared by Schlosser (259) to be groundless.

[d] See p. 56.

of a brave and successful general.[e] At first, therefore, Irene ventured no further than to publish an edict for general liberty of conscience. The monks who were still in exile returned, images were again displayed, and many tales of past sufferings and of miracles swelled the popular enthusiasm.[f]

In August 784, Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, suddenly resigned his dignity, and retired into a monastery, where he was visited by Irene and some high officers of the empire. When questioned as to the cause of his resignation, he professed deep remorse for having consented to accept the patriarchate on condition of opposing the restoration of images; he deplored the condition of his church, oppressed as it was by the tyranny of the state, and at variance with the rest of Christendom; and he declared that the only remedy for its evils would be to summon a general council for the purpose of reversing the decrees of the iconoclastic synod which had been held under Constantine V.[g] We need not seek for an explanation of the patriarch's motives in the supposition of collusion with the court. He may, like many others, have been sincerely attached to the cause of images, and, when seized with sickness, may have felt a real compunction for the compliances by which he had gained his elevation. And his death, which followed immediately after, is a strong confirmation of this view.[h]

Irene summoned the people of the capital to elect a new patriarch. No one possessed of the requisite qualifications was to be found among the higher clergy, as the bishops were disaffected to the cause of images, while the abbots were too ignorant of the management

[e] Walch, x. 527; Gibbon, iv. 492.
[f] Theophan. 704.
[g] Ib. 708; G. Hamart. cclvi. 12: Hard. iv 37; Schlosser, 274-6.
[h] Neand. v. 311-12. Basnage and Spanheim groundlessly suppose that Paul was deposed. See Walch, x. 509.

of affairs to be fit for such promotion. The person selected by the court, (and, according to one writer,[l] suggested by Paul himself,) was Tarasius, a secretary of state, a man of noble birth, of consular dignity, and of good personal reputation. The multitude, who had no doubt been carefully prompted, cried out for his election, and the few dissentient voices were overpowered. Tarasius with an appearance of modesty professed his reluctance to accept an office so foreign to his previous habits, and declared that he would only do so on condition that a general council should be forthwith summoned for the consideration of the all-engrossing subject.[k] With this understanding he was consecrated; and Adrian of Rome, on receiving a statement of his faith, admitted him to communion, professing to consider the exigency of the case an excuse for the irregularity of his promotion.[l]

A council was now summoned, and measures were taken to render it yet more imposing than the numerous synod by which images had been condemned under the last reign. The pope was invited to send representatives, if unable to attend in person.[m] He deputed Peter, chief presbyter of his church, with Peter, abbot of St. Saba's, and furnished them with a letter, in which he hailed the emperor and his mother as a new Constantine and a new Helena, and exhorted them to repair the misdeeds of their predecessors by restoring images in the church.[n] Some things of a less agreeable kind were added:—a demand for the restoration of all that the iconoclastic emperors had taken from St. Peter, remarks on the irregularity of raising a layman to the patriarchate

Ignatius, bishop of Nicæa, in his Life of Tarasius, c. 3 (Acta SS. Feb. 25). But the story is unsupported and improbable. Walch, x. 509.

[k] Hard. iv. 24-5; Theophan. 709-12

[l] Hard. iv. 97; Theophan. 713.

[m] Hard. iv. 22; Walch, x. 532. See Hefele, iii. 414-16.

[n] Hard. iv. 79-92.

of Constantinople, and objections to the title of ecumenical, which had been given to the patriarch in the imperial letter.[o]

As the empire was at peace with the Saracens, invitations were also addressed to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. But the bearers of these letters fell in with some monks, who, on learning the object of their journey, earnestly implored them to proceed no further, since any such communication from the empire would be sure to exasperate the jealousy of the Mahometan tyrants, and to bring additional oppressions on the church. The monks offered to send to the council two of their own number, whom they proposed to invest with the character of secretaries to the patriarchs; these, they said, would sufficiently represent the faith of the eastern church, and the personal attendance of the patriarchs was no more requisite than that of the Roman bishop. To this strange proposal the messengers agreed, and they returned to Constantinople with two monks named John and Thomas.[p]

The council was to meet at Constantinople in the beginning of August 786. But during the week before the appointed day, the opponents of images held meetings for the purpose of agitation, and, although Tarasius

[o] Hard. iv. 93-6. Basnage (1362), Gibbon (iv. 492), and others, suppose that the two Roman presbyters had no special commission, and were disowned by the pope on their return, The only authority for this is Theodore the Studite, who states (Ep. I. 38, p. 254), that the envoys were deposed, "as they say," because, having been sent on other business, they had acted in the council, although they professed to have done so under compulsion; and that Rome regarded it as only a *local* synod. But Theodore's statement is contradicted by the documents, and is supposed to have arisen out of the circumstance that, when the meeting of the council was deferred, the legates did not procure any *new* commission. (Schlosser, 288; Neand. v. 314-15.) Theodore was inclined to disparage the council because he thought it too lenient in its treatment of persons who had formerly opposed images.

[p] Hard. iv. 136-41, 456; Spanh. 805-8; Walch, x. 551-8. Schlosser (281) not altogether unfairly reminds us of Pseudartabas in the 'Acharnians.' On the other side see Hefele iii. 427.

ordered them to leave the city, many of them still remained. On the eve of the opening, there was an outbreak of some imperial guards and other soldiers belonging to the iconoclastic party; and on the following day a still more serious tumult took place. When Tarasius and other members of the council were assembled in the church of the Apostles, a multitude of soldiers and others, abetted by some iconoclastic bishops, broke in on them, and compelled them to take refuge in the sanctuary. The soldiers who were summoned to quell the uproar refused to obey orders. Tarasius ordered the doors of the sanctuary to be shut. The iconoclasts forced them; but, without being dismayed by the threatening appearance, the patriarch opened the council, and conducted its proceedings until a message arrived from Irene, desiring her friends to give way;[q] on which the iconoclastic bishops raised a shout of victory. The empress allowed the matter to rest until, having lulled suspicion, she was able quietly to disband the mutinous soldiers and to send them to their native places;[r] and in September of the following year, a synod of about 350 bishops, with a number of monks and other clergy, met at Nicæa, a place at once safer from disturbance than the capital, and of especially venerable name, as having been the seat of the first general council.[s]

The first places of dignity were given to the Roman envoys, who had been recalled, after having proceeded as far as Sicily on their way homeward.[t] Next to these was Tarasius, the real president of the assembly;[u] and after him were the two representatives (if they may be

[q] Vita Taras. 5; Hard. iv. 25-8; Theophan. 714-15; Walch, x. 535-7; Schlosser, 285-6.

[r] Theophan. 715-16; Theodor. Studit. Laudatio Platonis, 24 (Patrol. Gr. xcix.).

[s] Vita Taras. 5. On the number of which the council consisted, see Walch, x. 550; Schlosser, 288-9.

[t] Hard. iv. 27; Walch, x. 538.

[u] Ib. 561-2. See Hefele, i. 27

so styled) of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. A number of civil dignitaries were also present.[x] The first session took place on the 24th of September, and the business proceeded with great rapidity. Six sessions were held within thirteen days, a seventh followed a week later, and the final meeting was held at Constantinople on the 23rd of October.[y]

From the beginning it was assumed that the purpose of the council was not to discuss the question of images, but to re-establish them as objects of worship; bishops who were known to be opposed to this design had not been invited to attend.[z] The pope's letter was read at the second session, but with the omission of the reflections on Tarasius, and of the request that the rights of the Roman see might be restored.[a] A number of bishops, who had taken part in the iconoclasm of the last reigns, came forward to acknowledge and anathematize their errors, and humbly sued for admission to communion.[b] In answer to questions, some of them said that they had never until now had the means of rightly considering the subject; that they had been educated in error: that they had been deceived by forged and garbled authorities: or that they had been sealed up under a judicial blindness.[c] Questions arose as to admitting them to communion, as to acknowledging them in offices to which they had been consecrated by heretics,[d] and with respect to some, whether, as they had formerly been persecutors of the faithful, they ought not to be treated with special severity.[e] The monks were throughout on the side of rigour; but the majority of the council, under the guidance of Tarasius, was in favour of a lenient course. The canons were searched for precedents; and a discussion

[x] Hard. iv. 34.
[y] See Walch, x. 560, 579-80.
[z] Schlosser, 290.
[a] Hard. iv. 93.
[b] Ib. 37, seqq.
[c] Ib. 47, 166, 300, &c.
[d] Ib. 61.
[e] Ib. 125.

ensued as to the application of these—with what class of heretics were the iconoclasts to be reckoned? Tarasius was for putting them on the footing of Manichæans, Marcionites, and monophysites, as these sects had also been opposed to images; all heresies, he said, were alike heinous, because all did away with the law of God. The monastic party declared that iconomachy was worse than the worst of heresies, because it denied the Saviour's incarnation.[f] But the majority was disposed to treat the penitents with indulgence, and they were received to communion.[g] There were loud outcries against the iconoclasts, as atheists, Jews, and enemies of the truth;[h] and when a proposal was made to call them Saracens, it was answered that the name was too good for them.[i]

According to the usual practice of councils, authorities were cited in behalf of images, and the opposition to them was paralleled or connected with all sorts of heresies.[k] The extracts produced from the earlier fathers are really irrelevant; for the images of which they speak were either scenes from sacred history, or memorial portraits (like that of Meletius of Antioch, which is mentioned by St. Chrysostom[l]), and they afford no sanction for the practices which were in question before the council.[m] A large portion of the quotations consisted of extracts from legendary biographies, and of tales of miracles wrought by images, to which some of the bishops were able to add similar marvels from their own experience.[n] From time to time the reading of these testimonies was interrupted by curious commentaries from the hearers. Thus, after a passage from Gregory of Nyssa, in which he spoke of himself as having been

[f] Hard. iv. 50-60.
[g] Ib. 76, 129-136.
[h] Ib. 189.
[i] Ib. 292.
[k] Ib. 159, seqq.
[l] Ib. 164; Chrys. de S. Melet. (t. ii. 519, ed. Monf.).
[m] See an analysis of the extracts in Dupin, vi. 140, seqq.
[n] *E.g.*, Hard. iv. 185, 205-12.

affected to tears by a picture of the sacrifice of Isaac, a bishop observed, "The father had often read the history, but perhaps without ever weeping; yet, as soon as he saw the picture, he wept." "If," said another, "so great a doctor was edified and moved even to tears by a picture, how much more would it affect lay and unlearned people!" Many exclaimed that they had seen such pictures of Abraham as that which Gregory described, although it does not appear whether they had felt the same emotion at the sight. "If Gregory wept at a painting of Abraham," said Theodore, bishop of Catana, "what should we do at one of the incarnate Saviour?" "Should not we too weep," asked Tarasius, "if we saw a picture of the Crucifixion?" and his words were received with general applause.[o]

A famous story, which had already served the uses both of controversial and of devotional writers,[p] was twice read.[q] An aged monk on the Mount of Olives, it was said, was greatly tempted by a spirit of uncleanness. One day the demon appeared to him, and, after having sworn him to secrecy, offered to discontinue his assaults if the monk would give up worshipping a picture of the blessed Virgin and the infant Saviour which hung in his cell. The old man asked time to consider the proposal, and, notwithstanding his oath, applied for advice to an abbot of renowned sanctity, who blamed him for having allowed himself to be so far deluded as to swear to the devil, but told him that he had yet done well in laying open the matter, and that it would be better to visit every brothel in Jerusalem than to refrain from adoring the Saviour and His mother in the picture. From this edifying tale a twofold moral was drawn with general

[o] Hard. iv. 165.

[p] Moschus, Prat. Spirit. 45 (Patrol. Gr. lxxxvii.); Joh. Damasc. Orat. I (t. i. 328).

[q] Hard. iv. 208, 316.

consent,—that reverence for images would warrant not only unchastity, but breach of oaths ; and that those who had formerly sworn to the iconoclast heresy were no longer bound by their obligations.[r]

At the fifth session, the Roman legates proposed that an image should be brought in and should receive the adoration of the assembly. This was solemnly done next day ;[s] and at the same session the conclusions of the iconoclastic synod of 754 were read, each paragraph being followed by the corresponding part of a long refutation, which was declared to have been evidently dictated by the Holy Ghost.[t]

At the seventh session, the decree of the council was read and subscribed. It determined that, even as the figure of the cross was honoured, so images of the Saviour and the blessed Virgin, of angels and of saints, whether painted or mosaic or of any other suitable material, are to be set up for kissing and honourable reverence (*προσκύνησιν*), but not for that real service (*λατρείαν*) which belongs to the Divine nature alone.[u] Incense and lights are to be offered to them, as to the cross, the gospels, and other holy memorials, "forasmuch as the honour paid to the image passeth on to the original, and he who adoreth an image doth in it adore the person of him whom it doth represent." An anathema was pronounced against all opponents of images, and the signing of the decree was followed by many acclamations in honour of the new Constantine and Helena, with curses against iconomachists and heretics of every kind.[x]

[r] Hard. iv. 209.

[s] Ib. 321.

[t] Ib. 325; Schröckh, xx. 578-9.

[u] Hard. iv. 456. "We have," as Dean Milman remarks (ii. 126), "no word to distinguish between *προσκύνησις* and *λατρεία*." One of the council's arguments had been drawn from our Lord's answer to the tempter—"Thou shalt *worship* (*προσκυνήσεις*) the Lord thy God, and Him *only* shalt thou *serve* (*λατρεύσεις*)." *Servire*, it was said, is here restricted to God *only*, but not so *worship*! Hard. iv. 204.

[x] Ib. 469-72.

These outcries were repeated at the eighth session, when the members of the council appeared at one of the palaces of Constantinople, and both the emperor and his mother subscribed the decree.[y] The council, which after a time came to be regarded both by the Greeks and by the Latins as the seventh general council,[z] also passed twenty-two canons, chiefly relating to ecclesiastical and monastic discipline.[a] It is to be observed that the images sanctioned at Nicæa were not works of sculpture, but paintings and other representations on a flat surface —a limitation to which the Greek church has ever since adhered;[b] and that there is as yet no mention of representing under visible forms the Trinity, the Almighty Father, or the Holy Spirit.[c]

Constantine VI. grew up in the society of women and eunuchs, and in entire subjection to his mother. With a view, perhaps, of cutting off from the iconoclasts the hope of assistance from the west, Irene had negotiated for him a marriage with one of Charlemagne's daughters; but soon after the Nicene synod, as the iconoclasts were no longer formidable, while she may have feared that such a connexion might endanger her own ascendency,[d] she broke off the engagement, greatly to the indignation of the Frankish king, and compelled her son against his will to marry an Armenian princess named Marina or Mary.[e] Instigated, it is said, by some persons who professed to have discovered by

A.D. 781.

[y] Hard. iv. 481-5.

[z] On the history of its reception see Palmer on the Church, ii. 201, seqq., ed. 1.

[a] See Hard. iv. 485, seqq.

[b] Basnage, 1364. The appearance of relief is, however, given to many of them by the covers of silver or other metal in which they are enshrined—the *nimbi* (or glories) and the dresses being wrought in the metal, which has openings for displaying the faces and hands of the picture.

[c] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. V. xiv. Raoul-Rochette refers the first personal representations of the Almighty Father to the 9th century; Didron, to the 12th. Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 75.

[d] Schlosser, 305; Finlay, ii. 93.

[e] Theophan. 705, 718; Einhard, A.D. 786; Paul. Warnefr. Hist. Miscella.

magic that the empire was to be her own, she paved the way for a change by encouraging her son in cruelties and debaucheries which rendered him odious to his subjects, and especially to the powerful monastic party.[f] At the age of twenty, Constantine resolved to throw off the yoke of his mother and her ministers; he succeeded in possessing himself of the government, and for some years the empire was distracted by revolutions, carried on with all the perfidy and atrocity which were characteristic of the later Greeks.[g] Constantine was at length persuaded to readmit his mother to a share of power, and she pursued towards him the same policy as before. He fell in love with a lady of her court, Theodote, and resolved to divorce his wife and to marry the object of his new attachment. The patriarch Tarasius at first opposed the scheme, but Constantine, it is said, threatened that, if the Church refused to indulge him, he would restore idolatry;[h] and Tarasius no longer ventured to resist.[i] Marina was shut up in a convent, and the second nuptials were magnificently celebrated in September 795.[k] Some monks who vehemently objected to these proceedings, and went so far as to excommunicate the emperor, were treated with great cruelty.[l] It has been supposed that Irene even contrived the temptation to which her son yielded; she at least beheld his errors with

23 (Patrol. xcv. 1118); Murat. IV. ii. 133, 162; Schlosser, 300. Einhard says that Charlemagne refused to give his daughter, A.D. 788.

[f] Theophan. 719; Walch, x. 503.

[g] Theophan. 720-5; Finlay, ii. 94.

[h] Τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων ἀνοίγω. (Cedren. 472, d.) The biographer of Theodore the Studite says (c. 26) that Constantine threatened to attack images, and Walch (x. 554) supposes this to be also the meaning of the words in Cedrenus. But it is hardly conceivable that even party spirit could have induced the chronicler to describe churches *without* images as "temples of *idols*"; besides that the temples seem to be spoken of as distinct from churches, and as being closed at the time when the threat was uttered.

[i] Theophan. 727-8; Vita Taras. 7-8; Vita Theodor. Studit. 18, 19, 26; Baron. 795. 43, seqq.

[k] Cedren. 472; Pagi, xiii. 301.

[l] Theod. Stud. Laudatio Platonis, 26-9 (Patr. Gr. xcix.); Vita Theod. Stud. 20; Baron. 795. 43-59.

malicious satisfaction, and fomented the general discontent which they produced.[m] By degrees she secured to her own interest all the persons who were immediately around him; and at length, when her scheme appeared to be matured, he was by her command seized at his devotions,[n] was carried into the purple chamber in which he had been born, and was deprived of his eyesight with such violence that the operation almost cost him his life.[o] Immediately after this, a fog of extraordinary thickness obscured the air and hid the sun for seventeen days. By the people of Constantinople it was regarded as declaring the sympathy of heaven with the horror generally felt at the unnatural deed by which Irene obtained the empire.[p]

Aug. 19, 797.

Irene reigned five years after the dethronement of her son. According to the Greek writers (whose testimony, however, is unsupported by those of the west), she was engaged in a project for reuniting the empires by a marriage with Charlemagne,[q] when, in October 802, she was deposed by the secretary Nicephorus, and was

[m] Theophan. 729; Schlosser, 310.

[n] Εἰς *παράκλησιν*, says Theophanes. His translator renders the words "ad preces"; Goar (not. in loc.) understands *παράκλησις* to mean *a religious procession*; Schlosser (326), *a private chapel*. See Ducange in voc.

[o] Theophan. 730-2. It has been very generally inferred from the historian's words that Constantine died under the operation. But Gibbon (iv. 414-15), Schlosser (327-30), and Mr. Finlay (ii. 100) show that he long survived. Cf. Theoph. contin. ii. 10; G. Hamart. cclix. 5; cclxvii. 28.

[p] G. Hamart. cclvii. 18. On the disgraceful manner in which writers favourable to the cause of images have attempted to palliate Irene's guilt, see Walch, x. 589; Milman, ii. 131. The words of Baronius are well known, but must be quoted here:—"Scelus plane execrandum, nisi justitiæ zelus ad id faciendum excitasset. . . . Si enim regnandi cupidine Irene in filium moiita esset insidias, detestabilior Agrippina, Neronis matre, fuisset, cum illa suæ quoque vitæ dispendio filium imperare maluisset. Contra vero, quod ista religionis causa, amore justitiæ, in filium perpetrata creduntur, ab orientalibus nonnullis, qui facto aderant, viris sanctissimis eadem post hæc meruit præconio celebrari." (796. 8.) Our own contemporary the Abbé Rohrbacher is little short of Baronius (xi. 220-1.) Irene was canonized by the Greeks. Finlay, ii. 102.

[q] Theophan. 736: Cedren. 474. Against the story, see Gibbon, iv. 509; Schlosser, 338; Luden. v. 12-13. See too Gregorov. iii. 13.

banished to Lesbos, where she died within a few months.[r]

Nicephorus, who is described as having surpassed all his predecessors in rapacity, lust, and cruelty,[s] was bent on subjecting the hierarchy to the imperial power. He forbade the patriarch to correspond with the pope, whom he considered as a tool of Charlemagne; and he earned the detestation of the clergy by heavily taxing monastic and ecclesiastical property, which had until then been exempt, by seizing the ornaments of churches, by stabling his horses in monasteries, and by extending a general toleration to iconoclasts and sectaries.[t] In 811[u] Nicephorus was killed in a war with the Bulgarians, and his son Stauracius, after a reign of little more than two months, was thrust into a monastery, where he soon after died of wounds received before his accession.[x] On the deposition of Stauracius, his brother-in-law, Michael Rhangabe, was compelled to accept the empire, and images were again restored to honour. The iconoclastic party, however, continued to exist. An attempt was made by some of its members to set a blinded son of Constantine Copronymus on the throne;[y] and on the alarm of a Bulgarian invasion, soon after the elevation of Michael, a very remarkable display of its spirit took place. While the clergy, the monks, and vast numbers of the people were deprecating the danger by processions and prayers, some iconoclastic soldiers broke open the mausoleum of the emperors, prostrated themselves on the tomb of Copronymus, and entreated him to save the state; and they asserted that, in answer to their prayers,

[r] Theophan. 738-45; G. Hamart. cclix.; Gibbon, iv. 415-16.

[s] Theophan. 775-8, 765.

[t] Gibbon, iv. 494; Finlay, i. 110-16, 125. Mr. Finlay is rather favourable to him—partly, perhaps, on account of the emperor's enmity to the clergy.

[u] Theophan. 764; Pagi, xiii. 470; Gibbon, v. 292.

[x] Schlosser, 374-5.

[y] Theophan. 773.

he had appeared to them on horseback, and had gone forth against the barbarians; "whereas," says Theophanes, "he dwells in hell with devils."[z] Although the motive of these men was more probably fraud than fanaticism—(for, besides the story of the apparition, they pretended that the mausoleum had been opened by miracle)—we may infer the existence of a strong attachment to the memory of Constantine among the party to which such an imposture could have been addressed with any hope of finding believers.[a]

A.D. 813. Michael, although a man of estimable character, proved unequal to the government of the empire, and after a reign of two years he was deposed and tonsured, while a general named Leo was raised to the throne. Michael, who by a clemency unusual in such cases was allowed to retain not only his life but his eyesight, survived his dethronement thirty-two years.[b]

II. While the decree of the second council of Nicæa established a reconciliation between Rome and Constantinople, and was gladly confirmed by the Pope, it met with a less favourable reception north of the Alps. In the Frankish church a middle opinion on the subject of images had prevailed; as the eastern Christians had been led to cherish their images for the sake of contrast with their Mahometan neighbours, so the Franks were restrained from excess in this kind of devotion by the necessity of opposing the idolatry of the unconverted Germans.[c] The question had been one of those discussed at a mixed assembly of clergy and laity which was held under Pipin at Gentilly in the

A.D. 767.

[z] Theophan. 781.

[a] See Walch, x. 546.

[b] Theophan. 779, 783-4; G. Hamart. cclxi. 5-6; Gibbon, iv. 417. Schlosser says 35 years. 392.

[c] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben., V. xxiv.-v.; Döllinger, i. 356-7; Milman, ii. 235. Some other reasons which Dr. v. Döllinger gives for the Frankish view appear untenable.

presence of envoys from Pope Paul and of ambassadors from Constantine Copronymus; and, although their decision on this point is not recorded, there can be no reasonable doubt that it agreed with the general views of the national church.[d]

Adrian, on receiving the acts of the Nicene council, sent a copy of them to Charlemagne, with an evident expectation that they would be accepted by the Franks. But the late rupture of the match between the king's daughter and the son of Irene had not tended to bespeak from him any favourable consideration of the eastern decrees; and his own convictions were opposed to them. He sent them to Alcuin, who was then in England; and it is said that the English bishops joined in desiring their countryman to write against the council.[e] Alcuin made some remarks on the Nicene acts, in the form of a letter; and out of these probably grew a treatise in four books, which was put forth in the name of Charlemagne, and is known by the title of the Caroline Books. It has been commonly supposed that Alcuin, who returned to France in 793,[f] was the chief author,[g] but that he was assisted by other ecclesiastics, and that the king himself took part in the revision of the work.[h] The tone of this

[d] See Einhard, A.D. 767; Spanheim, 778; Basnage, 1357; Walch, xi. 33-5; Schröckh, xix. 566; Giesel. II. i. 93; Neand. v. 323; Hefele, iii. 400.

[e] Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 792; Rog. Hoveden, ap. Savile, 232, b. Dr. Lingard attempts to explain away their statements (A. S. C. ii. 114-16, and Append. G); but see Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 469.

[f] Pagi, xiii. 257.

[g] Bouterwek, in Herzog, vii. 418, says that there is no ground for this; that two writers are to be discovered in the treatise, but that it is unknown who they were. He gives an analysis of the contents with regard to other matters as well as to the question of images.

[h] See Dupin, vi. 146; Mosh. ii. 167; Walch, xi. 66-8; Schröckh, xx. 585-8; Giesel. II. i. 94; Lorenz, 119; Neand. v. 324-5; Bähr, 346; Gfrörer, iii. 624; Hardwick, 54; Milman, ii. 236. The 'Libri Carolini' were first published in 1549 by Jean du Tillet, afterwards bishop of Meaux, who styled himself "Eli. Phili." By *Eli.* was meant Elijah, in allusion to the connexion between that prophet and St. *John* the Baptist, whose name the editor bore; perhaps, too, as Bayle says (Art. *Du Tillet*, note B), Du Tillet may have intended to hint that he was to imitate

treatise is firm and dignified. Although great deference for the apostolic see is professed, the writer resolutely maintains the Frankish view as to images, and unsparingly criticises the grounds alleged for the doctrine which was held in common by the east and by Rome. While the iconoclasts and the Byzantine council of 754 are blamed for overlooking the distinction between images and idols, their mistake is declared to be much less than that committed by the Nicene synod in confounding the use of images with the worship of them; the one error is ascribed to ignorance, the other to wickedness.[i] Much is said against the style of language officially employed by the Byzantine court, which is censured as trenching on the honour due to God.[k] The synod is blamed for having allowed itself to be guided by a woman, contrary to St. Paul's order that women should not be admitted to teach.[l] Its pretension to be ecumenical is denied, on the ground that it neither was assembled from all churches, nor held the faith of the universal church;[m] its claim to Divine sanction is also disallowed.[n] It is said to be madness for one portion of the church to anathematise other portions in a matter as

Elijah's exertions against idolatry. In like manner, "Phili." alluded to the editor's surname, being an abbreviation of *φιλύρα*, the Greek name for the *tilleul* or lime-tree. (Schröckh, xx. 584.) Some Romanists have pretended that the book was a forgery of the reformer Carlstadt; others, that it was written by a heretic of Charlemagne's time, and was sent by the king to Rome in order to be refuted. (See Walch, xi. 51, 61-2; Lorenz, 117-18.) But its genuineness is now acknowledged. (See Dupin, vi. 120; Döllinger, i. 358; Bähr, 345; Hefele, iii. 653-4.) Hefele gives an index to the quotations made in this treatise from the Nicene Acts, 665-8. The Caroline Books are reprinted in Goldast's 'Imperialia Decreta,' and thence in Migne's 'Patrologia,' xcviii. But Hefele says (653) that the best edition is that by Hermann, Hanover, 1731.

[i] Præf. ap. Goldast. 92, 94; Lib. i. 27; iv. 4, p. 473.

[k] i. 1-4.

[l] iii. 13.

[m] iv. 28. This shows that the fact of the pope's having presided by his legates was not, in the opinion of the Franks, enough to warrant the reception of the council, without the consent of the chief churches. Fleury, xliv. 58.

[n] iii. 14.

to which the apostles had not laid down any rule; and much more so when the opinions so branded are agreeable to the earlier councils and fathers.[o] The passages which had been cited at Nicæa from Scripture and the fathers are examined, and are cleared from the abuse there made of them.[p] The council is censured for having admitted many stories of a fabulous or apocryphal kind.[q] The account of our Lord's correspondence with Abgarus is questioned;[r] the legend of the monk and the unclean devil is strongly reprobated;[s] doubts are expressed as to the truth of many miraculous tales; and it is argued that, even if the miracles were really wrought by the images, they would not warrant the worship of these.[t] Remarks are made on expressions used by individual bishops at the council.[u] Among these there is the important misrepresentation that Constantius, of Constantia in Cyprus, is charged with having placed the adoration of images on the same level with that of the Trinity, and as having anathematized all who thought otherwise; whereas in reality he had distinguished between the devotion paid to images and that which was to be reserved for the Trinity alone.[x] The arguments advanced in behalf of images are discussed and refuted. The honours paid in the east to the statues of emperors had been dwelt on by way of analogy; but it is denied that this is any warrant for the worship of images,—"for what madness it is to defend one unlawful thing by another!"—and the conduct of Daniel in Babylon is cited as proving the sinfulness of the eastern practice.[y] It is derogatory to the holy mystery of the eucharist—to the cross, the symbol of our salvation and the sign of our Christian profession—to the consecrated vessels, and to the sacred books,—

[o] iii. 11-12.
[p] i. 5, seqq.; ii. 1, seqq.
[q] iii. 30
[r] iv. 10.
[s] iii. 31.
[t] iii. 25.
[u] iii. 3, seqq., 17, seqq.
[x] Comp. iii. 17 with Hard. iv. 152.
[y] iii. 15.

that the veneration paid to these should be paralleled with the worship of images.[z] The reverence due to relics, which had either been part of the bodies of saints or had been in some manner connected with them, is no ground for paying a like regard to images, which are the mere work of the artist.[a] Christ and his saints desire no such worship as that in question; and, although the more learned may be able to practise it without idolatry, by directing their veneration to that which the images signify, the unlearned, who have no skill in subtle distinctions, will be drawn to worship that which they see, without thought of any object beyond it. The guilt of causing offence must rest, not on those who allow images and only refuse to worship them, but on those who force the worship on others.[b] The only proper use of images is by way of ornament, or as historical memorials;[c] it is absurd to say that they represent to us the merits of the saints, since these merits are not external.[d] The right use of them for remembrance is strongly distinguished from the plea that it is impossible to remember God without them; those persons (it is said) must have very faulty memories who need to be reminded by an image—who are unable to raise their minds above the material creation except by the help of a material and created object.[e] The king concludes by declaring to the pope that he adheres to the principles laid down by Gregory the Great in his letters to Serenus of Marseilles,[f] and that he believes this to be the rule of the catholic church. Images are to be allowed, but the worship of them is not to be enforced; and it is forbidden to break or to destroy them.[g]

These books (or perhaps the propositions which they

[z] ii. 27-30.
[a] iii. 24.
[b] iii. 16, fin.
[c] i. 16.
[d] i. 17, pp. 175-6, ed. Goldast.
[e] Lib. Carol. ii. 22.
[f] See above, vol. ii. p. 43.
[g] iv. ult.

were intended to enforce, rather than the treatise itself[h]) were communicated to the pope, and drew forth from him a long reply. But the arguments of this attempt are feeble, and its tone appears to show that Adrian both felt the weakness of his cause, and was afraid to offend the great sovereign whose opinion he was labouring to controvert.[i]

It is doubtful whether these communications took place before or after the council which was held, under the presidency of Charlemagne, at Frankfort, in 794.[k] This council was both a diet of the empire and an ecclesiastical synod. Bishops were assembled from Lombardy and Germany as well as from France; some representatives of the English church, and two legates from Rome, were also present;[l] and, at the king's suggestion, Alcuin was admitted to a place on account of the service which he might be able to render by his learning.[m] The question of images was dealt with in a manner which showed that the council had no idea of any right on the part of Rome to prescribe to the Frankish church. The second canon adverts to "the late synod of the Greeks, in which it was said that those should be anathematized who should not bestow service or adoration on the images of the saints, even as on the Divine Trinity." In opposition to this, the fathers of Frankfort refuse "both adoration and service of all kinds" to images; they express contempt for the eastern synod, and agree in condemning it.[n] The passage especially censured by this canon is the speech wrongly ascribed in the Caroline Books to the Cyprian metropolitan Constantius, and the

[h] See Hefele, iii. 669.

[i] Neand. v. 335; Milman, ii. 237. His answer is in Hard. iv. 773, seqq.

[k] Neand. v. 335. Walch places the council first (xi. 72); Gieseler (II. i. 95-6) places it after the exchange of writings.

[l] The whole number of bishops is said to have been about 300; but Walch (ix. 761) says that this number rests on no authority older than Baronius.

[m] C. 56. Hard. iv. 909.

[n] "Contempserunt." Ib. 904.

misrepresentation is probably to be charged on the defectiveness of the translation in which the Nicene acts were presented to the Frankish divines.[o] But whatever the reason of it may have been, and however the members of the Frankfort council may have misapprehended the opinions of the orientals, there is no ground for arguing from this that they did not understand and plainly state their own judgment on the question.[p]

Notwithstanding the opposition to his views on the subject of images, Adrian continued to cultivate friendly relations with Charlemagne; the political interest which bound Rome to the Franks was more powerful than his sympathy with the Greeks as to doctrine. The retention of Calabria and Illyricum, which had been taken from the Roman see by the iconoclastic emperors in the earlier stage of the controversy, alienated the popes more and more from the Byzantine rule, until in 800 the connexion with the east was utterly severed by the coronation of Charlemagne as the sovereign of a new empire of Rome.

III. Before proceeding to the question of images, the council of Frankfort had been occupied with the doctrine of Felix, bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, on the relation of our Lord's humanity to the Almighty Father. The term *adoption* had been applied to the incarnation by some earlier writers and in the Spanish liturgy; it appears, however, not to have been used in its strict sense, but rather as equivalent to *assumption*.[q]

[o] Hefele, iii. 651, 660.

[p] This evasion is attempted by Baronius (794. 36-7) and others. Elsewhere Baronius argues that the council of Frankfort could not have really condemned that of Nicæa, *because* whatever it may have determined must have been meant with submission to the Roman see! Other Romish versions are collected by Basnage (1368-9) and Gieseler (I. ii. 96).

[q] See Giesel. II. ii. 111-12, and, as to the Spanish Liturgy, Lesley's preface to it, Patrol. lxxxv. 41; Guéranger, i. 212. There was a dispute as to a passage in St. Hilary of Poitiers (De Trinitate, ii. 27)—"Potestatis dignitas non amittitur dum carnis humilitas

The passages which Felix and his party produced from the fathers, as favourable to their view, spoke of an adoption of *nature*, of *flesh*, or of *manhood;* whereas they themselves made an important variation from this language by speaking of an adoption of the *Son*.[r]

The adoptionists were charged by their opponents with Nestorianism,[s] and in spirit the two systems are unquestionably similar. Yet the adoptionists admitted the doctrine which had been settled as orthodoxy for three centuries and a half: they made no objection to the term *Deipara* (or *Theotokos*), as applied to the mother of the Saviour's humanity; they allowed the union of natures in Him.[t] The distinctive peculiarity of the party was, that, while they granted the communication of properties between the two natures, they insisted on distinguishing the manner in which the predicates of the one nature were given to the other; they regarded it as a confusion of the natures, and a virtual merging of the humanity, to say that Christ was proper and real Son of God, not only in his Godhead but in his whole person.[u] He cannot, they said, be properly Son of God as to his human nature, unless it be supposed that the humanity and fleshly substance were derived from the very essence of God.[x] The highest thing that can befall humanity is to be adopted into sonship with God: more than this would be a change of nature.[y] Christ's humanity, then, is adopted to sonship; in one sense this adoption existed from the moment of his conception; in another, it began at his

adoptatur." Alcuin (Adv. Felic. vi. 6) was for reading *adoratur*, and Hincmar charges Felix with having bribed Charlemagne's librarian to falsify the manuscript of Hilary (Præf. in Dissert. ii. de Prædestinatione, Patrol. cxxv. 55); but the context seems to show that *adoptatur*, which is found in most MSS., is right, and that it is used in the sense of *assumption*. N. in loc. ed. Bened.; Walch, ix. 897-9; Giesel. II. i. 112; Hefele, iii. 670.

[r] Döllinger, i. 360; Dorner, ii. 317.

[s] *E.g.*, Conc. Francof. Ep. ad Episcopos Hisp. 23 (Patrol. ci. 1342).

[t] Dorner, ii. 307-10.

[u] Walch, ix. 862-4, 891; Dorner, ii. 312.

[x] Felix, ap. Alc. i. 12; Dorner, ii. 313.

[y] Ib 314.

baptism, when he passed from the condition of a servant to that of a Son; and it was consummated in his resurrection.[z] He cannot have two fathers in the same nature; in his humanity he is naturally the Son of David, and by adoption and grace the Son of God. By nature He is the "only-begotten" Son of God; by adoption and grace, the "first-begotten."[a] In the Son of God the Son of man becomes very Son of God; but it is only in a *nuncupative* way, as was the case with those of whom He himself said that the Scripture "called them gods to whom the word of God came"; his adoption is like that of the saints, although it is after a far more excellent fashion.[b] The adoptionists also pressed into their service texts which were in truth meant to set forth the reality of our Lord's manhood, and its inferiority to, or dependence on, his Divinity.[c]

Felix of Urgel, who became noted as a chief assertor of this doctrine, was a man of great acuteness and learning; his reputation was such that Alcuin sought his correspondence, and, even after the promulgation of his heresy, continued to speak with much respect of his sanctity.[d] The other head of the party, Elipand, bishop of Toledo, and primate of Spain under the Mahometan dominion, was far advanced in life when the controversy broke out. He appears to have been a man of violent and excitable temper, and very jealous of his dignity.[e] His style is described as more obscure than that of Felix, and it is therefore inferred that he was more profound.[f]

The early history of the adoptionist doctrine is unknown. It is probable that Felix was the originator of

[z] Fel. ap. Alc. ii. 16: Walch, ix. 867, 873-8; Neand. v. 223-5; Dorner, ii. 315-18.

[a] Fel. ap. Alc. iii. 1; Ep. Episcc. Hispan. c. 9 (Patrol. ci. 1324).

[b] (St. John x. 35); Fel. ap. Alc. iv. 2; Walch, ix. 875, 915; Dorner, ii. 312-17.

[c] Schröckh, xx. 470-1; Neand. v. 221-2; Dorner, ii. 314.

[d] Alc. Ep. iv., p. 7; Cf. t. i., p. 783; Lorenz, 257.

[e] Walch, ix. 724; Neand. v. 226.

[f] Dorner, ii. 322.

it, and perhaps he may have been led into it by controversy with his Mahometan neighbours, to whom this view of our Lord's humanity would have been less repulsive than that which was generally taught by the church.[g] At least, it appears certain that, whether Felix was the author of the doctrine or not, it was he who did most to reduce it to a system.[h] A correspondence took place between him and Elipand; and the primate employed the influence of his position in favour of the new opinion, which soon gained many adherents.[k] The first opponents who appeared against adoptionism were Beatus, an abbot, and Etherius, bishop of Osma, who had formerly been his pupil. Elipand, in a letter to an abbot named Fidelis, denounced the two very coarsely; he even carried his intolerance so far as to declare that all who should presume to differ from him were heretics and slaves of Antichrist, and that as such they must be rooted out.[l] Etherius and Beatus rejoined at great length in a book which as to tone appears almost worthy of their antagonist.[m] The pope, Adrian, now had his attention drawn to the controversy, and in 785 wrote a letter to the orthodox bishops of Spain, warning them against the new doctrine as an error such as no one since Nestorius had ventured on.[n] A.D. 783.[i]

This letter, however, failed to appease the differences which had arisen. A council which is said to have been held against the adoptionists at Narbonne, in 788, is

[g] See Alc. Ep. 85; Neand. v. 218-20.

[h] Neand. v. 218; Dorner, ii. 306.

[i] Pagi, xiii. 752.

[k] Walch, ix. 743; Schröckh, xx. 461.

[l] Elip. ap. Beat. i. 40-4 (Patrol. xcvi.); Walch, ix. 731-2. Felix charges Beatus and Etherius with confounding the Saviour's natures „sicut vinum et aquam." Alcuin, i 793.

[m] "Ad Elipandum" (Patrol. xcvi. 893, seqq.). There is a life of Beatus in the same volume, from Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. v. 735.

[n] Patrol. xcviii. 374. Walch (ix. 747) questions the genuineness of the letter, but, as Schröckh (xx. 466) thinks, on insufficient grounds.

generally regarded as fictitious.[o] In 792 Charlemagne summoned Felix (who was his subject) to appear before a council at Ratisbon, where the bishop abjured and anathematized his errors; but Charles, who in person presided at the council, appears to have doubted either the sincerity of his new profession, or his steadiness in adhering to it, and therefore sent him in chains to Rome, where he was imprisoned by order of the pope. Felix obtained his liberty by drawing up an orthodox confession of faith, to which he swore in the most solemn manner, laying it on the consecrated elements and on St. Peter's tomb. But on returning to Urgel, he again vented his heresy, and, in fear of Charlemagne's resentment, he fled into the Mahometan part of Spain.[p] Elipand and other Spanish bishops wrote to Charlemagne and to the bishops of France, requesting that Felix might be restored to his see, and that measures might be taken for suppressing the opinions of Beatus, who was charged in the letters with profligacy of life, and was also styled a false prophet, on account of some speculations as to the fulfilment of the Apocalypse, into which he had been led by the oppressed condition of the Spanish church.[q] These letters were forwarded by Charlemagne to the pope, who thereupon despatched a second epistle into Spain, denouncing the doctrine of the adoptionists, and threatening to excommunicate them if they should persist in it.[r]

The council of Frankfort was held between the time of Charlemagne's application to Adrian and the receipt of the pope's answer.[s] No representative of the adoptionist party appeared; but Alcuin, who had been summoned

[o] See Walch, ix. 749-51; Schröckh, xx. 466; Hefele, iii. 620-1.

[p] Conc. Rom. ap. Hard. iv. 928: Alc. adv. Elip. iv. 16; Einhard, A.D. 792; Walch, ix. 752-4.

[q] Elip. Ep. 3 (Patrol. xcvi.); Ep. Episcc. Hisp. ib. ci. 1321; Cf. Mabillon, ib. xcvi. 890.

[r] Hard. iv. 865.

[s] Neand. v. 228.

from England to take part in the controversy,[t] argued against their doctrine, and the council in its first canon unanimously condemned it as a heresy which "ought to be utterly rooted out of the church."[u] The Italian bishops gave their sanction to a treatise against adoptionism drawn up by Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia; and this was sent into Spain, together with a letter from the bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Germany to the Spanish bishops, and with one from Charlemagne to Elipand and his brethren.[x] Alcuin addressed a tract against the adoptionists to the bishops of the south of France,[y] and also wrote in a respectful tone to Felix himself, urging him to give up the term *adoption*, which he professed to consider as the only point in which the bishop of Urgel varied from the Catholic faith.[z] In consequence of this letter, Felix addressed a defence of his doctrine to Charlemagne, who thereupon desired Alcuin to undertake a formal refutation of the adoptionists. The abbot accepted the task, but stipulated that time should be allowed him to examine their citations with the help of his pupils, and begged that the book of Felix might also be referred to the pope, to Paulinus of Aquileia, and to other eminent bishops; if, he said, all should agree in their judgment on the point in question, it might be concluded that they were all guided by the same Holy Spirit.[a]

Alcuin then produced a treatise in seven books—"these five loaves and two little fishes," as he styles them.[b] The foundation on which he chiefly grounds his argument is the unity of the Saviour's person. Although

[t] Lorenz, 76.

[u] Hard. iv. 904.

[x] The three documents are in Hardouin, iv. 873-903; see Walch, ix. 691, 792.

[y] Opera, i. 759-82.

[z] Ib. 784.

[a] Ep. 69; Lorenz, 132. Hence it is evident that Alcuin had no idea of *papal* infallibility. Neand. v. 231.

[b] Opera, i. 788.

Felix had not ventured to deny this, it is urged that in consistency he must do so, like Nestorius, since he divides Christ into two sons, the one real, the other nuncupative.[c] The same person cannot be at once the proper and the adopted son of the same father; Christ alone has by nature that which we have through Him by adoption and grace.[d] The Sonship is not founded on the nature, but on the person; the two natures do not form two sons, since they are themselves not separate, but inseparably united in the one Christ. The whole Christ is Son of God and Son of man; there is no room for an adoptive sonship.[e] Christ was very God from the moment of his human conception.[f] Felix, it is argued, had erred through supposing that a son cannot be *proper* unless he be of the same nature with the father; whereas the term *proper* does not necessarily imply identity of substance between that which is so styled and that to which it is ascribed; as may be seen by our speaking of "proper names" and "proper [*i.e.* own] possessions."[g] A man is the proper son of his parents both in body and in soul, although the body only be of their seed; and in like manner Christ in his whole person, in manhood as well as in Godhead, is proper Son of God.[h] But moreover (says Alcuin), the whole matter, being supernatural, cannot be fitly measured by human analogies. Christ is Son of God the Father, although his flesh be not generated of God; and to deny the possibility of this is to impugn the Divine omnipotence.[i]

The censure of Frankfort was followed up by a council

[c] Lib. i. 11; iv. 5; Dorner, ii. 325. Walch argues that the adoptionists were orthodox, since they did not say that Christ in his twofold sonship was *alius et alius*, but that He was son *aliter et aliter*. (ix. 881-4.) But—not to go into any deeper argument—how s the fury of Elipand against the doctrine of the church to be accounted for if his own doctrine were the same?

[d] ii. 12; iii. 2; Dorner, ii. 325.

[e] ii. 12; vii. 11.

[f] iv. 8-10.

[g] v. 3; Dorner, ii. 325.

[h] iii. 2; v. 3; Dorner, ii. 324.

[i] i. 9; iii. 2.

held at Friuli, under Paulinus of Aquileia, in 796,[k] and by one which met at Rome under Leo III. in 799. At Friuli it was laid down that the Saviour is "one and the same Son of man and Son of God; not putative but real Son of God; not adoptive, but proper; proper and not adoptive in each of his natures, forasmuch as, after his assumption of manhood, one and the same person is inconfusibly and inseparably Son of God and of man."[l] The Roman council also condemned the adoptionists, but with so little knowledge of the matter as to accuse them of denying that the Saviour had any other than a *nuncupative* Godhead.[m]

In the meantime Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, Nefrid, bishop of Narbonne, and Benedict, abbot of Aniane, were sent into the district in which Felix had spread his opinions. They laboured with much success in confutation of adoptionism, and, having met Felix himself at Urgel, they persuaded him by an assurance of safety to proceed into France, in order that he might answer for himself before a council, which was to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle.[n] At Aix the adoptionist was confronted by Alcuin, who had been drawn from his retirement at Tours for the purpose. The discussion lasted for six days, and Felix at length professed to be convinced by some passages from the fathers which had not before been known to him. He retracted his errors, condemned Nestorius, and exhorted his clergy and people to follow the true faith.[o] As, however, his former changes suggested a suspicion of his constancy, he was not allowed to return into his diocese,

A.D. 799.

[k] As to the date of this, which some wrongly place in 791, see Patrol. xcix. 534-6; Hefele, iii. 674.

[l] Hard. iv. 756.

[m] Ib. 928.

[n] Alc. Ep. 92, t. i. p. 136; ad Leidr. ib. 860; Pagi, xiii. 350. Benedict's tract against Felix is in the Patrol. civ. 1399, seqq.

[o] Alcuin. Ep. 92, 176, Vita Alc. 7; Hard. iv. 929-34.

but was committed to the care of the archbishop of Lyons. Leidrad and his brother commissioners went again into Catalonia for the purpose of rooting out the heresy; and it is said by Alcuin that during their two visits they made 20,000 converts—bishops, clergy, and laity.[p]

Elipand, not being a subject of Charlemagne, was more difficult to deal with than his associate. He now entered into controversy with Alcuin, whom he treated with his usual rudeness, reproaching him as the chief persecutor of Felix, and taxing him (among other things) with having 20,000 slaves, and with being proud of his wealth.[q] Alcuin replied in four books, and the death of Elipand (whom some writers improbably represent as having at last renounced his heresy),[r] followed soon after. Felix remained at Lyons with Leidrad, and afterwards with his successor Agobard. He occasionally vented some of his old opinions, but, when Agobard argued with him, he professed to be convinced. After his death, however, which took place in 818, it was found that he had left a paper containing the chief points of his heresy in the form of question and answer; and Agobard found himself obliged to undertake a refutation of this, in order to counteract the mischief which it was likely to produce, as coming from a person who had been much revered for sanctity.[s] Although the adoptionist

[p] Ep. 92, p. 136; Comp. Walch, ix. 776.

[q] Elip. Ep. iv. 5 (Patrol. xcvi.). The address of the letter may be quoted as a specimen of the Spanish primate's style:—"Reverendissimo fratri Albino diacono, non Christi ministro, sed antiphrasii Beati fœtidissimi discipulo . . . novo Arrio, sanctorum venerabilium patrum Ambrosii, Augustini, Isidori, Hieronymi, doctrinis contrario—si se converterit ab errore viæ suæ, a Domino æternam salutem; et si noluerit, æternam damnationem." The slaves are supposed to have been those attached to the estates belonging to St. Martin's abbey and to Alcuin's other preferments. See his answer to the charge, Ep. ad. Leidr. t. i. 861.

[r] Vita Beati ap. Mabill. v. 737; Mariana, v. 67. See Antonio, in Patrol. xcvi. 857.

[s] Agob. adv. Felicem, 1-6.

doctrine has been revived or justified by some writers of later times, it never afterwards gained any considerable influence.[t]

IV. Towards the end of Charlemagne's reign, a controversy arose as to the procession of the Holy Spirit. In the Latin church it had always been held that the Third Person of the Godhead proceeds from the Second as well as from the First.[u] The same doctrine which the Latins thus expressed—that the Godhead of the Holy Spirit is communicated not only from the Father but from the Son—had also been held by the Greeks in general; but, as the word *proceed* is in Scripture used only of his relation to the Father,[x] they had not applied it to express his relation to the Son.[y] Thus the second general council, in the words which it added to the Nicene creed in opposition to the Macedonian heresy, defined only that the Holy Ghost "proceedeth from the Father." Theodoret, indeed, had used language which seems irreconcilable with the western belief;[z] but it is not to be understood as expressing more than the private opinion of a writer whose orthodoxy was not unimpeached on other points; and as yet no controversy either of fact or of expression had arisen as to this subject between the two great divisions of the church.

In the west, the procession of the Spirit from the Son was in time introduced into creeds.[a] It is found in the Athanasian creed, a form which was undoubtedly of western composition, but of which the date is much

[t] Schröckh, xx. 494; Giesel. II. i. 117.

[u] See quotations from Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great, in Pearson on the Creed, ii. 430-1, ed. Burton, Oxf. 1833; Petav. de Trin. vii. 8; Giesel. II. i. 107.

[x] St. John, xv 26.

[y] Thom. Aquin. Summa, I. qu. xxxvi. art. 2; Pearson, ii. 432-3; Petav. vii. 3; Schröckh, xx. 499; Hampden, Bampt. Lect. 142-3.

[z] See Pearson, ii. 434; Petav. vii. 17; Schröckh, xx. 501.

[a] See Petav. vii. 2.

disputed.[b] The first appearance of the doctrine in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan creed was at the third council of Toledo, in 589;[c] and it was often enforced by later Spanish councils, under the sanction of an anathema.[d] It would seem to have been from Spain that the definition made its way into France, where the truth of the double procession was not controverted, but some questions were raised as to the expediency or lawfulness of adding to the Nicene creed.[e]

The origin of the differences on this subject in the period now before us is not clear.[f] There was some

[b] A table of the different opinions as to its date and authorship is given by Waterland, iii. 117, ed. 1843. Gerard Vossius once thought that it was the work of a Frenchman, in the reign of Pipin or of Charlemagne, but afterwards modified his opinion so far as to say that the creed was not older than A.D. 600 (ib. 108). Quesnel ascribed it to Vigilius of Tapsus (A.D. 484), and has been followed by many in this opinion (ib. 111). Waterland himself (ib. 213-19) supposes it the work of Hilary of Arles, composed after his elevation to the bishoprick (A.D. 429), and in consequence of the retractation of Leporius (see vol. ii. pp. 158, 176). A commentary on it has been ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus, towards the end of the sixth century; but his editor, Luchi, follows the 'Hist. Littéraire de la France' in thinking that it is by some other hand (Patrol. lxxxviii. 585). Gieseler, in his posthumous Lectures on the History of Doctrines (Lehrb. vi. 325), says that the creed is probably of the sixth century; but in another passage (which may have been composed or revised later than the Lectures, although it was published during his lifetime) he refers it to the seventh or eighth century, and says that the testimonies alleged for it before the latter part of the eighth are very uncertain. He considers the name *Fides Athanasii* to be intended as the opposite of *Fides Arii*, and infers that the creed was composed in Spain, the country where Arianism kept the longest hold (II. i. 109-10). Mr. Harvey thinks that it was probably made by Victricius, bishop of Rouen (see the Acta SS., Aug. 7, p. 195), in defending himself against a charge of heresy, A.D. 401. ('The Three Creeds,' 584, seqq., Camb. 1854.) The proof of this does not appear very convincing. [Since this note was last published there has been much controversy as to the date of the creed. Mr. Ffoulkes ascribes it to the age of Charlemagne, and supposes Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, to have composed it. It appears in a MS. Psalter which is now in the Library of Utrecht; and Sir T. D. Hardy supposes this to be of the sixth century. (Report to the Master of the Rolls, 1873.) But other eminent palæographers refer it to the end of the eighth or to the ninth century. (Reports edited by Dean Stanley, 1874.)]

[c] Hard. iii. 472.

[d] Schröckh, xx. 503-4; Giesel. II. i. 107. See Isid. Hispal. Ep. 6 (Patrol. xxxiii.) and Gonzalez, Pref. to the Spanish Canons, ib. lxxxiv.

[e] Giesel. II. i. 108-9.

[f] Ib.

discussion of it at the council of Gentilly, where the ambassadors of Constantine Copronymus were present;[g] but (as has been already stated[h]) the details of that council are unknown. A.D. 767. At the council of Friuli, in 796, Paulinus maintained the expediency of the definition, on "account of those heretics who whisper that the Holy Spirit is of the Father alone, and proceedeth from the Father alone;" he defended it against the charge of novelty, as being not an addition to the Nicene creed, but an explanation of it;[i] and the council adopted a profession of faith in which the double procession was laid down.[k]

The matter came in a more pressing form before a synod held at Aix in 809, when a complaint was made that one John, a monk of St. Saba's at Jerusalem, had attacked the Frankish monks and pilgrims there on account of this doctrine, and had attempted to drive them away by force.[l] The council approved of the addition to the creed,[m] and Charlemagne sent two bishops, and Adelhard, abbot of Corbie, to Rome, with a request that the pope would confirm the judgment. Leo, at a conference with the envoys, of which a curious account is preserved,[n] expressed his agreement in the doctrine of the double procession, but decidedly opposed the insertion of it into the creed. It would, he said, be wrong to insert it, since a council guided by wisdom from above had omitted it; and, moreover, the point was one of those which are not necessary to salvation for the mass of ordinary Christians.

[g] Einhard, A.D. 767.

[h] P. 143.

[i] Hard. iv. 850.

[k] Ib. 855.

[l] Ep. Monachorum in Monte Oliveti habitantium (Patrol. cxxix. 1257); Einhard, A.D. 809; Ado, A.D. 809 (Patrol. cxxiii.). Ado finds the double procession clearly (*aperte*) laid down in Revelat. xxii. 1 (col. 133).

[m] Baronius says that the question at Aix did not relate to doctrine, but solely to the addition of *Filioque* in the creed (809-53). Pagi argues against him (xiii. 455-6). Comp. Mosheim, ii. 167, and Schröckh, xx. 506.

[n] Hard. iv. 969-73.

It is said that he put up in St. Peter's two silver shields engraved with the creed of Constantinople in Greek and in Latin, and that on both the words which express the procession of the Spirit from the Son were omitted. But, in order that there might be no doubt as to his opinion on the question of doctrine, he sent into the east a confession of faith in which the double procession was twice distinctly affirmed.[o] We hear no more of the difference between the eastern and western churches on this subject until at a later time it was revived and led to important consequences.

It may be difficult to follow, and impossible to read with interest, the history of such controversies as those on monothelism and adoptionism; and the church has often been reproached with the agitation into which it was thrown by questions which never enter into the consideration of the great body of Christian believers. We ought, however, to remember that an error which is to agitate the church internally must not begin by setting at nought the decisions of former times; the spirit of speculation must fix on some point which is apparently within the limits already prescribed for orthodoxy. Hence, in the controversies which relate to the highest Christian doctrines, the ground is continually narrowed, as we proceed from Arianism to Nestorianism and Eutychianism, and from these to the errors which have lately come before us; while each question, as it arose, required to be discussed and decided by the lights of Scripture and of the judgments which had been before pronounced. It is not, therefore, the church that deserves to be blamed, if the opinions against which its solemn condemnations were directed became successively more and more

[o] Leo, Ep. 15 (Patrol. cii.); Anastas. [p] b. cxxviii. 1237; Pet. Lombard, Sentent. I. xi. 2 (ib. cxcii.); Pagi, xiii. 457 See Hefele, iii. 702-t.

subtle; and the reader must be content to bear with the writer, if their path should sometimes lie through intricacies which both must feel to be uninviting and wearisome.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORIENTAL SECTS.

I. It has been mentioned, in the sketch of the Mahometan conquests, that the Arabs took advantage of the enmity between the catholics and the Jacobites (or monophysites) to enlist the depressed and persecuted sectaries on their side.[a] For the services thus rendered, the Jacobites were repaid by a superior degree of favour from their new masters when Egypt and Syria had fallen under the rule of the caliphs. Many of those whom the measures of Heraclius had driven to profess catholicism now returned to the open avowal of their old opinions; and the church further lost, not only by the progress of the sword and doctrines of Islam, but by the defection of many of its own members to the heretical Christianity.

The Jacobites continued to be strong in Egypt, and also in the more westerly countries of Asia, where they were now under the government of a patriarch resident at Amida. But the party had been extirpated in Persia,[b] and it made no further progress towards the east.[c]

II. The history of the Nestorians during this period was more remarkable. They, like the opposite sect, were at first courted and afterwards favoured by the Mussulmans on account of their hostility to the orthodox

[a] See vol. ii. p. 420. [b] See vol. ii. p. 316. [c] Schröckh, xx. 378.

church. At their head was a bishop known by the title of catholic or patriarch of Babylon; his residence was originally at Seleucia or Ctesiphon,[d] but on the foundation of Bagdad by Almansur, in 762, the patriarch removed his seat to that city.[e] In the eighth century, the Nestorians got a footing in Egypt;[f] and in the east they laboured with great activity to propagate their form of Christianity, without, apparently, meeting with any rivalry on the part of the catholics. Following the course of trade, Nestorian missionaries made their way by sea from India to China, while others penetrated across the deserts to its northern frontier.[g] A stone discovered at Si-ngan-foo in 1625 bears a long inscription, partly Syriac and partly Chinese, recording the names of missionaries who had laboured in China, with the history of Christianity in that country from the year 636 to 781. Its fortunes had been varied by success and persecution; but in the eighth century it had usually enjoyed great favour from the emperors, and many churches had been built. With these details the inscription contains a summary of Christian doctrine and practice, in which a tinge of Nestorianism is discernible.[h]

[d] From A.D. 498. Wiltsch, i. 216.

[e] Pagi, xiii. 6; Wiltsch, i. 451.

[f] Schröckh, xx. 377.

[g] Mosheim, Hist. Tartarorum Ecclesiastica, 12.

[h] Mosheim (ib. Append. 4-28) gives a copy of the inscription after Kircher, and M. Pauthier has lately published it in the original languages, with a translation and a fac-simile (L'Inscription Syro-Chinoise de Si-ngan-fou, Paris, 1858). The genuineness of this record has been disputed, but seems to be now commonly, although not universally, admitted. M. Pauthier, in another pamphlet, has defended it against recent objections (De l'Authenticité de l'Inscr. Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou, Paris, 1857). As it was through Jesuit missionaries that it became known to Europe, it has been regarded as a fraud of the Society. But it appears that the Jesuits did not see the stone until three years after it had been discovered by some Chinese workmen in digging the foundation of a house, and had been placed in a Chinese temple; that it contains things which the Jesuits *could* not have forged; that both the Chinese and the Syriac characters agree in form with the alleged date; that its statements fall in with other circumstances which could not have been known to the Jesuits; and that no suspicion of its genuineness has been entertained by

It would seem that this early Christianity of China fell with the dynasty which had encouraged it; for some missionaries who about the year 980 were sent by the catholic of Babylon into that country found the churches destroyed, and could hear of only one native who continued to profess their own religion.[i]

The patriarch Timothy, who held his office from 777 to 820, reduced the Nestorian metropolitan of Persia to subjection, and was especially active in organizing missions.[k] By the preachers whom he sent out a knowledge of Christianity was spread in Hyrcania, Tartary, Bactria, and other countries of central Asia, where it long retained a hold. Bishops and metropolitans, owning allegiance to the patriarch of Babylon, were established in those vast regions, and with a view to this a singular ritual provision was made by Timothy—that, if no more than two bishops could be procured for the consecration of a brother, the canonical number should be made up by allowing a book of the Gospels to supply the place of the third consecrator.[l]

III. The tenets and character of the Paulicians have been the subject of controversy, which too often has been largely influenced by the party interests of those who have shared in it. Writers of the Roman church have professed to discover in the Paulicians the ancestors of the protestant reformers, and have transferred to these the charges of Manichæism which are brought against

native Chinese scholars. Moreover, if the Jesuits had ventured on a forgery, they would have made it more favourable to their own views. As to the fact of Christianity in China, there is sufficient testimony of other kinds. See Mosh. ii. 62, and Hist. Tartar. 9-13; Schröckh, xix. 293-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 437; Gibbon, iv. 378, and Dean Milman's notes; Yule, 'Cathay and the Way thither' (Hakluyt Soc.), i. xciii. seqq.; ii. 16; Edinb. Rev., Jan. 1872, p. 24.

[i] Pauthier, Authent. de l'Inscr. 95; Yule, I. xcvi.

[k] Schröckh, xx. 376.

[l] Mosh. Hist. Tart. 15; Schröckh, xix. 297; Gibbon, iv. 377; Neander, v 123.

the ancient sect.[m] On the other hand, some protestants have ventured to accept the pedigree, and, with a confidence which equally disdains facts and reason, have asserted that the Paulicians were guiltless of the heresies imputed to them—that they were the maintainers of what such writers suppose to be a purely scriptural Christianity.[n] It would be useless to enter here into a discussion of these rival extravagances.

Although it is agreed that the word Paulician is a barbarous formation from the name Paul, there is a question as to the person from whom the designation was taken. Some trace it to one Paul of Samosata—not the notorious bishop of Antioch, in the third century, but a Manichæan of later, although uncertain, date;[o] others to an Armenian who was eminent in the sect

[m] See the Jesuit Rader, in the verses prefixed to his translation of Petr. Siculus; Baron. 810. 7; Bossuet. Hist. des Variations, l. xi. 13, seqq.

[n] Some letters by the Rev. G. S. Faber, in vols. xiv.-xv. of the 'British Magazine,' may be mentioned as examples of this class. Neander, not being hampered by the same doctrinal scruples as the English patrons of the sect, is able to take a somewhat bolder view; he traces the Paulicians to his favourite Marcion (see vol. i. p. 82), and acknowledges their gnosticism and dualism, while he holds that under these forms they apprehended a spiritual Christianity, derived from St. Paul and St. John! (v. 342). The principal sources of information as to the sect are Photius in the first of his four books against the Manichæans (printed in Wolf's 'Anecdota Græca,' tt. i.-ii. Hamb. 1722, and in the Patrol. Gr. vol. cii.), and Petrus Siculus, whose tract was published, with a bad Latin version by Rader, at Ingoldstadt in 1604, and has been edited, with a new version by Gieseler (Göttingen, 1846). In the Patrol. Gr. vol. civ. this tract, with three discourses against the Manichæans by the same author, is reprinted from Mai's collection. The two chief works have much in common, the authors having probably used the same materials. Some suppose that Photius wrote first, and that his treatise was known to Peter. (See Gieseler, Præf. vi.-viii.; Wolf, Præf. ad Phot.; Mosh. ii. 253, notes; Schröckh, xx. 365; Maitland on the Albigenses, etc. pp. 61, seqq.; Dowling's Letter to Maitland on the Paulicians, Lond. 1835, p. 32; Gfrörer, ii. 224); but Cardinal Mai and the Editor in the 'Patrologia' (civ. Præf. vi.) think that Photius borrowed from Peter. George, who styles himself "the Sinner" (Hamartolus), a Greek monk of the 9th century, gives an account of the Paulicians in the 238th chapter of his Chronicle, and incidentally mentions (sect. 12) that he had elsewhere written διὰ πλάτους against them.

[o] See Phot. l. i. c. 2; Pet. Sic. 36-8, ed. Rader; Georg. Hamartolus, ccxxxviii. 1; Cedren. 432.

about the time of Justinian II.[p] But the most probable supposition appears to be that it is derived from the name of the great apostle, whom the Paulicians affected especially to regard as their master.[q]

Gnosticism, banished from other parts of the empire, had taken refuge in the countries bordering on the Euphrates, where in course of time the remnants of its various parties had come to be confounded under the general name of Manichæans.[r] In this region, at the village of Mananalis, near Samosata, lived about the year 653 one Constantine, who is described as descended from a Manichæan family.[s] A deacon, who was returning from captivity among the Saracens, became his guest, and in acknowledgment of his hospitality left with him a manuscript containing the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles. Constantine read these, applying the principles of his old belief to the interpretation of them; and the result was, that he renounced some of the grosser absurdities in which he had been trained, burnt the heretical books which it was a capital crime to possess, and put forth a system which, by means of allegorical and other evasions, he professed to reconcile with the letter of the New Testament, while in reality it was mainly derived from the doctrines of his

[p] See Phot. i. 18.

[q] This is the opinion of Gibbon (v. 274); Döllinger (i. 343); Hallam (M. A. ii. 439); and Neander (v. 340-1). "In an Eastern mind," says Dean Milman, "it is not difficult to suppose a fusion between the impersonated, deified, and oppugnant powers of good and evil, and St. Paul's high moral antagonism of sin and grace in the soul of man—the inborn and hereditary evil, and the infused and imparted righteousness" (iv. 103). Gieseler (II. i. 15) says that, when the party had styled itself after the apostle, its enemies referred the name to one of the later Pauls as its founder. Mr. Dowling, on the contrary, thinks that it first got its name from one of the others, and then affected to explain it by a reference to St. Paul. He admits that there is no real connexion with the Samosatenian, and would therefore derive the name from the Armenian Paul. Guericke (ii. 83) well remarks that, when the designation after the apostle had been adopted, the frequent recurrence of the name Paul among the sectaries is easily understood. See too Gfrörer, ii. 201.

[r] Gibbon, v. 273.

[s] Pet. Sic. 40-2; Pagi, xi. 439.

hereditary sect.[t] Although he is usually styled a Manichæan, it would appear that the term is not to be strictly understood. His opinions were probably more akin to Marcionism, which is known to have been strong in the region of the Euphrates two hundred years earlier;[u] and his followers freely anathematized Manes, among other heresiarchs.[x]

Constantine styled himself Silvanus, and the leaders who succeeded him assumed the names of Titus, Epaphroditus, Timothy, and others of St. Paul's companions.[y] In like manner they affected to transfer to the chief communities of their sect the names of churches in which the apostle and his associates had laboured.[z] The Paulicians acknowledged St. Paul's epistles, with those of St. James, St. John, and St. Jude, and the Acts of the Apostles. They also originally admitted the four Gospels, although it would seem that they afterwards rested exclusively on those of St. Luke and St. John, if they did not absolutely reject the others.[a] They rejected the Old Testament, and they especially denounced St. Peter, as a betrayer of his Lord and of the truth; nor was their enmity without reason, says Peter of Sicily, since that apostle had prophesied against their misuse of St. Paul.[b]

The Paulicians held that matter was eternal; that there were two Gods—the one, generated of darkness and fire, the creator and lord of the present world, the God of the Old Testament and of the church; the other, the Supreme, the object of their own worship, the God of the spiritual

[t] Pet. Sic. 40-2; Phot. i. 3, 16; G. Hamart. l. c. 2, 12.

[u] See vol. ii. p. 186; Mosh. ii. 251; Schröckh, xx. 370; Neand. v. 337; Giesel. II. i. 14.

[x] Phot. i. 4, 16; Pet. Sic. 62.

[y] Phot. i. 4; G. Hamart. 3. It is said that Constantine pretended to be the same with St. Paul's Silvanus (Phot. i. 16; Pet. Sic. 44); but this is unlikely.

[z] Phot. i. 5.

[a] See Pet. Sic. 18, with the marginal note by a later writer; Phot. i. 8; Neand. v. 370.

[b] (II Pet. iii. 16). Pet. Sic. 20; Phot. i. 8; G. Hamart. 9. The charge of betraying the truth had reference to Gal. ii. 11, seqq.

world which is to come.[c] They held that the soul of man was of heavenly origin, and imprisoned in a material body.[d] They not only refused to the blessed Virgin the excessive honours which the catholics had gradually bestowed on her, but are said to have altogether disparaged her; they denied her perpetual virginity, while they maintained that our Lord did not really take of her substance, but brought his body from heaven, and that his birth was only in appearance.[e] They objected to the order of presbyters, because the Jewish presbyters or elders had opposed the Christ;[f] their own teachers were not distinguished by any special character, dress, manner of life, or privileges. Of these teachers several grades are mentioned, but they did not form a permanent hierarchy; thus, when the "companions in travel,"[g] who had been associated with the last great master of the sect, died out, the "notaries," whose business it was to copy the writings which were acknowledged as authoritative, became its chief instructors.[h] The Paulicians reverenced Constantine and three others of their leaders as apostles or prophets.[i] They rejected the sacraments: Christ, they said, did not give his disciples bread and wine, but by the names of these elements He signified his own sustaining words;[k] and the true baptism is He Himself, who declared Himself to be the "living water."[l] They spat on the

[c] Pet. Sic. 16-18; Phot. i. 6.

[d] Neand. v. 358-9; Döllinger, i. 345.

[e] Phot. i. 7; Pet. Sic. 10; G. Hamart. 6.

[f] Phot. i. 9.

[g] Συνέκδημοι—from Acts xix. 29; II Cor. viii. 19.

[h] Pet. Sic. 72; G. Hamart. 11; Neand. v. 365; Dowling, 19.

[i] Pet. Sic. 42.

G. Hamart. 7. Τὴν θείαν καὶ φρικτὴν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων του σώματος καὶ αἵματος . . . . . μεταλῆψιν ἀποτρέψαι (Pet. Sic. 18). Rader renders the last words *conversionem negent*—as if a denial of transubstantiation were regarded by the Greek Church of the ninth century as a mark of heresy. But the real meaning—that the Paulicians *refused to partake* of the sacramental elements ("perceptionem recusant"—Gieseler)—is clear from another passage (p. 56), where a member of the sect is asked διὰ τί οὐ μεταλαμβάνεις. The Jesuit editor's mistake is corrected by Cardinal Mai, Patrol. Gr. civ. 1255.

[l] G. Hamart, 9. Photius (i. 9) says

cross and attacked the catholics on account of their reverence for images, while they themselves paid reverence to the book of the Gospels, as containing the words of Christ.[m] They allowed themselves a great license of equivocation as to their opinions; and in the same spirit they did not scruple to attend the catholic worship or sacraments.[n] They claimed for themselves exclusively the title of Christians, while they styled the catholics *Romans*, as having merely a political religion.[o] Their own places of worship were not styled temples or churches, but *proseuchæ*—houses of prayer.[p] By the modern patrons of the Paulicians, their opposition in some of these points to the current errors or superstitions of the time has been traced to an unbiassed study of holy Scripture; but it may be more truly explained by their connexion with older sects, which had become separate before the corruptions in question were introduced into the church itself.

Constantine fixed himself at Cibossa, in Armenia, where he presided over his sect for twenty-seven years, and made many converts, both from the church and from the Zoroastrian religion.[q] At length the matter was reported to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus, who sent an officer named Symeon to Cibossa, with orders to put the heresiarch to death, and to distribute his followers among the clergy and in monasteries, with a view to their being reclaimed.[r] Symeon carried off Constantine and a

that they allowed themselves to be baptized by clergy who were captive among them, although they supposed the effects to be profitable only to the body. (Cf. G. Hamart, 14.) Neander (v. 363) gives an improbable explanation of the statement. We may, perhaps, rather understand that in this, as in other things, they showed a pretended conformity to the usages of the church, and mocked at baptism as a mere cleansing of the flesh. See Cedrenus, 435.

[m] Phot. i. 7; G. Hamart. 13. See John of Oznun, patriarch of Armenia, A.D. 718-29, in Neand. v. 345; Giesel. II. i. 13.

[n] Phot. i. 6-9; G. Hamart. 10, 14; Cedren. 435.

[o] Phot. i. 6; G. Hamart. 6.

[p] Phot. i. 9.

[q] Pet. Sic. 44. [r] Ib. 49.

large body of the sectaries, whom he drew up in a line, and commanded to stone their chief. Instead of obeying, all but one let fall the stones with which they were armed; but Constantine was killed, like another Goliath (as we are told), by a stone from the hand of a youth—his own adopted son Justus.[s] A.D. 684. As the sectaries proved obstinate in their errors, Symeon entered into conference with some of them; the effect was, that, being ignorant as to the grounds of his old religion, he became their convert, and, after spending three years at Constantinople in great uneasiness of mind, he fled, leaving all his property behind him, and took up his abode at Cibossa, where, under the name of Titus, he became the successor of Constantine.[t] After a time, Justus was struck by the seeming inconsistency of the Paulician doctrines with a text[u] which refers the spiritual as well as the material world to the same one Creator. He proposed the difficulty to Symeon, expressing a fear that they might both have been in error, and might have misled their followers; and, on finding that Symeon would not satisfy him, he went to the bishop of a neighbouring town, Colonia (now Calahissar), and exposed the tenets of the sect. About A.D. 690. The bishop reported the case to the emperor, Justinian II., and in consequence of this information, Symeon, Justus himself, and many of their followers, were burnt to death on one large pile.[x]

Among those who escaped this fate was an Armenian named Paul,[y] who took up his abode near Phanarœa, at a place which is said to have derived its name, Episparis, from the sowing of spiritual tares there by the elder Paul, the Samosatenian.[z] The sect revived under the Armenian

[s] Phot. i. 16; Pet. Sic. 44.
[t] Phot. i. 16; Pet. Sic. 46.
[u] Coloss. i. 16.
[x] Phot. i. 17; Pet. Sic. 46-50.
[y] Pet. Sic., 48, says that some derived the name of the sect from his Paul. Mr. Dowling, as has been mentioned above, agrees with them.
[z] G. Hamart. 1 (ἐπέσπειρεν ζιζάνια. Matt. xiii. 25).

Paul, but at his death the headship of it was contested by his two sons. Gegnæsius, the elder, to whom his father had given the name of Timothy, rested his claims on hereditary succession, while the younger, Theodore, relied on an immediate commission from heaven;[a] and their dispute reached the ears of Leo the Isaurian, who ordered Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, to examine Gegnæsius. The Paulician was skilful enough to meet all questions with answers which appeared satisfactory. He anathematized all who denied the orthodox faith, for by that name he secretly intended his own heresy. He anathematized all who refused to worship the cross, for by the cross he meant our Lord Himself stretching out his arms in prayer or benediction. He anathematized all who refused worship to the Theotokos, into whom the Saviour entered—understanding under this description the heavenly Jerusalem, into which Christ has entered as the forerunner of his elect. By the catholic church he meant his own sect; by baptism, Christ the "living water"; by the body and blood of Christ, the Saviour's words of instruction: he therefore anathematized all who rejected any of these, and having thus satisfied Germanus, he was sent home with favourable letters from the emperor.[b]

A.D. 715.

A.D. 722.

The abhorrence which the Paulicians professed for images might have been supposed likely to recommend the party to the iconoclastic emperors. But it would seem that these princes rather feared to connect themselves with the disrepute which its other opinions had brought on it;[c] and thus we find that Leo and his son, instead of favouring the Paulicians, transported many of them from Armenia into Thrace.[d] After various fortunes, the headship of the sectaries had fallen to one Baanes,[e]

[a] Phot. i. 18; Pet. Sic. 48.
[b] Phot. i. 18; Pet. Sic. 50.
[c] Giesel. II. i. 16.
[d] Theophan. 662.
[e] Pet. Sic. 54; Phot. i. 20

who is styled "the filthy,"[f] and may therefore be probably supposed to have sanctioned some of the immoralities which are too often lightly imputed to all heresiarchs.[g] But when the Paulicians had sunk thus low, a reformer appeared in the person of a young man named Sergius.

Sergius was converted to Paulicianism by a female theologian. The historians of the sect relate that this woman, having fixed on him as one whom it was desirable to gain, entered into conversation with him, and, after some compliments on his learning and character, asked him why he did not read the Scriptures. He answered that such studies were not lawful for Christians in general, but only for the clergy—an idea which Chrysostom had strongly opposed,[h] but which since his time had become fixed in the popular belief, although without any formal authority from the Church. "It is not as you think," she rejoined; "for there is no acceptance of persons with God, since He will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." And she went on to tell him that the clergy mutilated and corrupted the word of God, and that such of them as did miracles would be found among those to whom Christ will say in the judgment day, "I never knew you." Sergius began to read the Scriptures, and under the tuition of his instructress, he learnt to apply to the catholics all that is there said against the fleshly Israel, and to regard the Paulicians as the true spiritual church of Christ.[i] He assumed the name of Tychicus,[k] and became a new founder of the sect, which is said to have held his writings in equal veneration with the Scriptures themselves.[l] His own morals would seem to have been unimpeachable, since Photius

A.D. 801.

[f] Ὁ ῥυπαρός.

[g] The Paulicians are charged by Photius with promiscuous incest, etc. i. 10.

[h] See quotations in Giesel. II. i. 15.

[i] Phot. i. 20; Pet. Sic. 56-8.

[k] Ib. 54.

[l] Ib. 18.

and Peter of Sicily can only charge him with hypocrisy;[m] and he reformed the morality of the Paulicians, in opposition to the principles of Baanes. For thirty-four years—from the reign of Irene to that of Theophilus—Sergius laboured indefatigably in the cause of Paulicianism. He is said to have indulged in unseemly boasting of his success; to have preferred himself to the earlier teachers of the party; to have styled himself the resplendent lamp, the shining light, the life-giving star, and even the Paraclete.[n]

A.D. 801-835.

The emperor Nicephorus was friendly to the sect, and granted it toleration in Phrygia and Lycaonia. Theophanes tells us that he engaged in magical practices with "the Manichæans who are called Paulicians," in order to obtain victory for his arms.[o] Under Michael Rhangabe severe laws were enacted against these heretics; such of them as should be obstinate in their errors were to be put to death. A party in the church, headed by Theodore the Studite, opposed the infliction of death as the punishment of heresy;[p] but Theophanes argues that this view is absurd, since St. Peter inflicted death on Ananias and Sapphira, and St. Paul says that persons who are guilty of certain sins are worthy of death.[q] To these scriptural authorities for persecution Peter of Sicily adds another—the command, "Those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me."[r]

A.D. 802-811.

A.D. 811-13.

Leo the Armenian, iconoclast as he was, continued the

[m] Phot. i. 21; Pet. Sic. 60.

[n] Phot. i. 21; Pet. Sic. 62. We have already had instances of assuming this last title, in Simon Magus, Montanus, Manes, and Mahomet. That Sergius cannot have meant to identify himself with the Holy Spirit appears from the fact that he placed himself lower than St. Paul. Neand. v. 350.

[o] Theophan. 759; Schröckh, xxiii 319.

[p] Theod. Stud. Ep. ii. 155; Schröckh, l. c.

[q] (Rom. i. 32); Theophan. 771.

[r] (St. Luke xix. 27); Pet. Sic. 38.

persecution of the Paulicians. The sectaries, as usually happens, were exasperated by such treatment. A.D. 813-820. The deaths of some of their chiefs were avenged by the slaughter of a prefect and a bishop who had been active against them.[s] They lived in constant hostility to their neighbours, and, as opportunity favoured, they broke out from their bounds, devastated, plundered, and slaughtered. Their female captives, it is said, were given up to promiscuous lust; the children were either killed or sold to the Saracens; and Sergius found himself unable to restrain the excesses of his followers.[t] Sergius himself was slain with his own axe by a man who had found him cutting wood, in the year 835.[u] His reforms had led to the separation of the sect into two hostile branches; and after his death, his followers, wishing to clear themselves from the obloquy attached to the Baanites, fell on these, and carried on a bloody contest with them, until a "companion in travel" of Sergius, named Theodotus, succeeded in recalling both parties to a remembrance of their common faith.[x]

After the re-establishment of images, under the regency of Theodora,[y] the empress was urged by the victorious party to undertake the suppression of Paulicianism, whether by conversion or by force; and, as the sectaries resisted all attempts which were made to gain them, the fury of persecution was let loose among them. It is said that not less than 100,000 were slain by the sword, beheaded, drowned, or impaled.[z] Among the victims was the father of Carbeas, captain of the guard to the prefect of the east. Carbeas, on hearing A.D. 844. of his parent's fate, renounced his allegiance to the empire, and, with 5000 companions, sought a refuge among

[s] Pet. Sic. 71; Phot. i. 24.
[t] Pet. Sic. 62.
[u] Ib. 71; Phot. i. 24.
[x] Ib. 22; Pet. Sic. 71.
[y] A.D. 842. Theophan. Contin. iv. 16.
[z] Cedren. 541; Schlosser, 557-60.

the Saracens. The caliph gladly welcomed the fugitives, and granted them leave to settle within his territory, where, on the same principle by which they had justified their occasional conformity to the church, they adopted externally the rites of Islam.[a] Carbeas built or enlarged and fortified several towns, of which Tephrica was the chief and became the head-quarters of the sect.[b] Paulicians from other quarters flocked to the new home which was opened for them; and the numbers of the party were swelled by refugees who sought an asylum from the imperial laws, and, according to its enemies, by others who found an attraction in the license of morals which it granted to its members.[c] The Paulicians harassed their neighbours of the empire by continual aggressions.[d] Under the command of Carbeas, their forces, in conjunction with the Saracens, gained a great victory over Michael, the son of Theodora, under the walls of Samosata;[e] and in the reign of the emperor Basil, Chrysocheir, the son-in-law of Carbeas,[f] advanced through Asia Minor with an army made up of Paulicians and Saracens, pillaged Ancyra, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and other cities, gave up images and relics to his followers for profanation, and stabled his horses in the cathedral of Ephesus. Basil was reduced to sue for peace; but Chrysocheir refused it except on the intolerable condition that he should give up the east to "the servants of the Lord."[g] The emperor had no choice but to carry on the war; he advanced into the Paulician country, and took some of the towns, but was obliged to relinquish the siege of Tephrica.[h] Chrysocheir again invaded the imperial territory; but his troops were de-

A.D. 867.

[a] Phot. i. 26.
[b] Cedren. 541.
[c] Pet. Sic. 73.
[d] Cedren. 542.
[e] Theophan. Contin. iv. 23; Phot. i. 26; Cedren. 545; Gibbon, v. 279.
[f] Phot. i. 28.
[g] Gibbon v. 280.
[h] Ibid.

feated by one of Basil's generals, and he himself, as he fled, was closely followed by one Pylades, who had formerly been his captive. It was A.D. 871. in vain that he reminded his pursuer of the kindness with which he had treated him; a wound from the lance of Pylades compelled him to drop from his horse, and, as he lay stunned by the fall, some other Greeks despatched him. His head was carried to the emperor, who fulfilled a vow and gratified his enmity by piercing it with three arrows.[j] After the death of Chrysocheir, the Paulicians ceased to be formidable. Tephrica was destroyed, yet a remnant of the sect continued to assert its independence for a century later.[k]

In another quarter, the heresy had been kept up by the descendants of those who were transported into Thrace by Constantine Copronymus.[l] It was in order to guard the newly-founded church of Bulgaria from the infection of its Thracian neighbours, that Peter of Sicily, about the year 870, addressed to the archbishop of the Bulgarians the tract which is a chief source of information as to the sect, drawing his materials in part from the observations and inquiries which he had made during a residence of nine months at Tephrica, on a mission for negotiating an exchange of prisoners.[m]

[j] Const. Porphyrog. Vita Basil. 42-3; Cedren. 570-3.

[k] Gibbon, v. 281.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Pet. Sic. 2, 74. On the date, see Pagi, xv. 230; Gieseler, Præf. in Pet. Sic. iii.-iv.

CHAPTER IX.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *Influence of the Papacy.*

THE preceding chapters have set before us the changes which took place in the position of the patriarchs during the seventh and eighth centuries—the sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem reduced to subjection under the Mahometan rule; the bishops of Constantinople becoming more and more tools and slaves of the imperial court; while in the west the power of the Roman bishop is greatly and rapidly increased. This advance of the papacy was much aided by the circumstance that Rome, although often taken by barbarians, never remained long in their possession.[a] It alone retained its ancient character, while in all other quarters the old national distinctions were obliterated by successive invasions. The popes alone kept their ground amid the revolutions of secular powers; and their authority was vastly extended as nation after nation of the barbarian conquerors was brought within the sphere of Christian influence. As in former times the bishop of Rome had been considered by the orientals to represent the whole western church, so he now appeared to the new nations of the north and of the west as the representative and source of Christianity on earth. St. Peter was regarded as holding the keys of heaven, and as personally connected with his successors.[b] The popes strengthened their position at once by detaching themselves from the Byzantine empire, and by entering into an alliance with the princes of the west on terms such as the empire had never admitted.

[a] Guizot, ii. 329. [b] Giesel. II. i. 34.

They were connected by mutual interest with the Frankish kings, especially with those of the second dynasty, and Charlemagne's conquests gave them a supremacy over the church of northern Italy, which they had in vain desired in the time of the Lombard princes.[c] By the donations of Pipin and of Charlemagne they acquired a new secular power; and it would seem to have been in the latter half of the eighth century, or early in the ninth, that the forged donation of Constantine appeared, to assert for them a more venerable claim to a wider jurisdiction, and to incite the Frankish sovereigns to imitate the bounty of the first Christian emperor.[d] Constantine, it was said, was baptized by Pope Sylvester, and at his baptism received the miraculous cure of a leprosy with which he had been afflicted; whereupon, in consideration of the superiority of ecclesiastical to secular dignity, he relinquished Rome to the pope, conferred on him the right of wearing a golden crown with other ensigns of sovereignty, and endowed the apostolic see with the Lateran palace, and with all the provinces of Italy "or" the western regions.[e] This forgery seemed to justify the Romans in withdrawing themselves from the empire; it seemed to legitimatize the possession of all that the popes had gained, since this was but a part of what was said to have been bestowed on their see by the first Christian

[c] Guizot, ii. 332.

[d] Thus Adrian styles Charlemagne a "new Constantine" in magnifying the bounty of the elder emperor. (Patrol. xcviii. 306.) Döllinger supposes the forgery to have been executed between the time of Pipin's donation (756) and the establishment of the Frank power in Italy, with a view of paving the way for the union of all Italy under the sovereignty of the pope whenever the Lombard kingdom should come to an end. Papst-Fabeln, 69.

[e] Patrol. viii. 567, seqq.; cf. lxxiv. 523; clxxxvii. 460. The word *seu* seems intended to define Italy as including Istria, Sardinia, and Corsica. (Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 73.) The forger here confounded the extent of the empire in the west under Constantine with that to which it had shrunk in his own time. (Giesel. II. i. 190.) The *seu* was afterwards changed into *et*, which gives a very different meaning. Döllinger, 83.

emperor; and the fable retained its credit, although not altogether unquestioned,[f] throughout the middle ages.[g]

The mission of Augustine introduced the papal influence into England, where a new church arose, strongly

[f] See the letter of Wetzel (seemingly a follower of Arnold of Brescia) to Frederick Barbarossa, A.D. 1152, in Patrol. clxxxix. 1423, D. But he rests his disbelief on a wrong ground—that Melchiades, in a letter which is part of the decretal forgery, speaks of Constantine as a baptized Christian before Sylvester's pontificate. Döllinger, 82-3.

[g] Gregory of Tours, in describing the baptism of Clovis, says, "Procedit novus Constantinus ad lavacrum, deleturus lepræ veteris morbum," etc. (ii. 31), where the leprosy of sin is evidently meant. The story of a bodily disease and cure is found in the apocryphal 'Acta Sylvestri,' which are reckoned among approved writings in the decree of Gelasius I. (see vol. ii. p. 364; Patrol. cxxvii. 1511; xcviii. 271; lix. 173; cf. Laur. Vall. in Fascic. Rerum, i. 141; Nic. Cusan. ib. 158; Acta SS., Jun., t. i. p. xxxii.), where, however, the mention of them would seem to be an interpolation. (See Döllinger, 'Papst-Fabeln,' 54.) These acts are cited by Ratramn, in the ninth century, as the work of the historian Eusebius (Contra Græcorum Opposita, iv. 3, Patrol. cxxi.). G. Hamartolus has the story of the baptism and cure (c. clxxvi. 1, 2), but says nothing of the donation. The first distinct mention of it is by Æneas, bishop of Paris, about 868 (Adv. Græcos, c. 209; Patrol. cxxi.). The first Greek writer who mentions it is Balsamon (cf. Bevereg. Synodicon, 89, 142), who died in 1180, and probably derived it from the Latins who had settled in the Holy Land in consequence of the Crusades. (Döllinger, 'Papst-Fab.' 67.) Berengosus, abbot of St. Maximus at Treves, in the twelfth century, reconciles the statements that Constantine was baptized by Sylvester and that he was baptized by Eusebius (see vol. i. p. 303) by saying that the name *Eusebius* means a *good writer*, and therefore was given to Sylvester as being a "scribe instructed unto the kingdom of righteousness"! (De Laude et Inventione S. Crucis, iii. 7, Patrol. clx.). Another mediæval opinion was that the emperor, after having been baptized into the church by Sylvester, was re-baptized into heresy by Eusebius (Anselm. Havelb. Dialog. iii. 21; ib. clxxxviii.). On the revival of a spirit of inquiry, in the fifteenth century, the story of the Donation was attacked by Nicolas of Cusa, afterwards cardinal (De Concordantia Catholica, iii. 2, in Schard. Syntagma, 355-9); by Bishop Reginald Pecock (Repressor, 358-66), Lorenzo Valla and others (see the Fasciculus, i. 128, seqq.), and was soon found to be indefensible. Baronius gives up the document, but attempts to maintain the fact of the donation. He indulges in ingenious conjectures, such as that Constantine may have made the gift, and Sylvester may have magnanimously refused it; or that the forgery was contrived in the Greek interest, with a view of ascribing the power of the popes to a human origin (324. 118-20). Tillemont (Emp. iv. 142) exposes the disingenuousness of Baronius, and now even the Abbé Rohrbacher is ashamed to uphold the fable of the baptism (vi. 284-5). Comp. Crakanthorp's 'Vindication of Constantine,' Lond. 1621; De Marca, iii. 12; Nat. Alex. viii., Dissert. 25; Mosh. ii. 141; Gibbon, iv. 490-1, Schröckh, xix. 595-7; Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vi. 697; Giesel. II. i. 41, 189-91; Neand. v. 168; Gfrörer, 'Die Karolinger,' i. 76; and especially Döllinger's 'Papst-Fabeln,' Essay 5.

attached to Rome, and fruitful in missionaries who established the Roman ascendency in Germany and in Gaul. The English church owned subjection to the pope, not so much on account of his supposed succession to St. Peter, as because it derived its origin from Rome, and thus was included in the Roman patriarchate by the same principle which subjected the Abyssinians to the see of Alexandria.[h] But as the papal power increased elsewhere, the subjection of England to it became also greater. The council of Cloveshoo,[i] assembled by Ethelbald, king of Mercia, opened with the reading of two letters from Zacharias, "the pontiff and apostolic lord, to be venerated throughout the world"; and it is acknowledged that the recital of these documents, in which he exhorts the English of every degree to reformation, under the threat of an anathema, was in obedience to his "apostolical authority."[k] In 785, two Roman legates—

[h] Planck, ii. 704, 715. See as to the Abyssinian Church, vol. i. p. 412.

[i] This place has been identified with Cliff-at-Hoo, near Rochester (Fuller, i. 152); Shovesham, now Abingdon (Rapin, n. in Fuller; Somner and Gibson, quoted by Wilkins, i. 161; Johnson, i. 292-4); Tewkesbury (Kemble, ii. 191), etc. See Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 122. Mr. Thorpe says that the true date is 742, instead of 747, as usually given (note on Lappenb. tr. i. 225); but the new editors of the Concilia prefer the later date.

[k] Wilkins, i. 94; Johnson, i. 243. A letter in which Boniface sent some canons lately passed by a council at Mentz to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, and urged the assembling of a council for reformation of abuses in England (Ep. 63, Patrol. lxxxix.), is supposed to have been a chief cause of the meeting at Cloveshoo (Inett, i. 174; Johnson, i. 241). Much has been made by some protestant controversialists of the fact that, although the German canons were in general adopted at Cloveshoo, one relating to the pope was omitted. But I must agree with Dr. Lingard (Angl.-Sax. Ch., i. Append. G) and Hefele (iii. 531-2), that the estimation in which the pope was held by the English council is sufficiently proved by the preface to its canons, as quoted in the text; and also that the second canon, in which the bishops bind themselves to cultivate peace and charity, "without flattery of any person," is not meant to refer to the pope, but is to be explained by the fact that the assembled prelates were subjects of different sovereigns (Ling. i. 390-1). Indeed I feel myself quite unable to sympathize with the contentiousness which some respectable Anglican writers think it necessary to display on such points. To mix up the question of our present position as to Rome with inquiries into the history of the Anglo-Saxon church, tends to obscure historical truth, while it is altogether needless and useless for the

the first (as they said) who had been sent into England since the time of Augustine[l]—visited this country, and with a view to the reformation of the church, councils were held in their presence in Mercia and in Northumbria. Offa, king of Mercia, then the most powerful of the English kingdoms, attended the Mercian assembly at Chalchythe.[m] In consequence of some offence which he had taken, on political or other grounds, at Janbert, archbishop of Canterbury, he wished that Lichfield should be erected into an archiepiscopal see. Janbert strongly opposed a scheme by which his metropolitan authority was to be limited to the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex; but it is supposed that the legates at Chalchythe favoured the change,[n] and with the sanction of Pope Adrian,[o] Higbert, who had been bishop since 779, received the title of archbishop. Some years later, however, Kenulph, the second successor of Offa, having annexed Kent to Mercia, and being desirous to conciliate the clergy of his new territory,[p] joined with Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, in a request that Leo
A.D. 798. III. would again reduce the see of Lichfield to its original condition. Athelard went to Rome in order to press the suit; the pope consented, and with his license the new archbishoprick was abolished by a council held at Cloveshoo in 803.[q]

Ina, king of Wessex, in 725[r] resigned his crown, and

purposes of controversy. If we believe ourselves able to show that the Roman claims and peculiarities of doctrine are unwarranted by the primitive church, we can surely afford to discuss their growth in a spirit of dispassionate impartiality.

[l] Wilkins, i. 146.

[m] Bishop Gibson supposes this place to be Kelceth, in Lancashire (Johnson, i. 265). Dr. Lingard suggests Chelsea (Hist. Eng. i. 140-1), and with this Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs agree (iii. 445). Mr. Soames proposes Chalk, or Challock, which are both in Kent. Ang.-Sax. Ch. 107.

[n] Johnson questions this. i. 283-4.

[o] See Johnson, i. 283-7, and the editor's notes; Collier, i. 319; Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 140; Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 446.

[p] Lappenb. i. 233. See Acta SS., Feb. 6, p. 922.

[q] W. Malmesb. i. 87-9; Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 521-5, 532-4, 536-44.

[r] Bed. v. 7; Lappenb. i. 261.

went on pilgrimage to Rome, where he ended his days as a monk; and his example was followed by other Anglo-Saxon sovereigns. It has been said that the tribute of a penny from every hearth in England, afterwards known as Romescot or Peterpence,[s] was first granted by Ina, and was confirmed by Offa in 794.[t] But it would seem that the donation of Ina is imaginary, and that in the case of Offa a payment of 365 marks[u] towards the lighting of St. Peter's and the relief of pilgrims—an eleemosynary grant from the crown—has been confounded with the Romescot of a later time, which was a tax levied on the subject, and was interpreted by the advocates of the papacy as an acknowledgment that this island was held in fee under the successors of St. Peter.[x]

II. *Relations of Church and State.*

(1.) The right of confirming elections to the papacy had been exercised by the Byzantine emperors, either personally or through their representatives, the exarchs, from the reconquest of Italy under Justinian until the iconoclastic disputes led to the omission of the form in the case of Zacharias; and the Carolingian emperors assumed the same privilege[y] as a part of their sovereignty.[z] The story that, during Charlemagne's visit to Rome in 774, Adrian, with a synod of a hundred and fifty-three bishops, bestowed on him and his successors the right of nominating the popes,[a] is now rejected,[b] and, with other

[s] This name was derived from the circumstance that it was payable at the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* (Aug. 1, commonly called Lammas, from the charge "Feed my lambs"). In like manner money due at the Annunciation was styled "Our Lady's rent." Collier, i. 335-6.

[t] Baron. 775. 10, Acta SS., Feb. 6, p. 921; Ducange, s. v. "*Denarius S. Petri*"; Fuller, i. 148, 161.

[u] "Mancusæ." See Ducange, s. v

[x] See W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 109; Inett, i. 220-2; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 282-3; Hist. Eng. i. 142-6, 161; Lappenb. i. 195, 231.

[y] See below, Book V. c. i.

[z] Guizot, ii. 337.

[a] Gratian. Decret. I. lxiii. 22 (Patrol. clxxxvi.).

[b] Thomassin, II. ii. 20-5; Pagi, xii. 410-11; n. in Mosheim, ii. 144-5; Schröckh, xix. 599.

such inventions, is supposed to have originated in later times from the wish of the Roman party to represent the superintendence which the Frank princes undeniably exercised over ecclesiastical affairs as if it were derived from the gift of the popes.[c]

(2.) In the east, where no political power was attached to the episcopal office, the emperors had not usually interfered in the appointment of bishops, except at Constantinople and other cities in which they themselves resided.[d] The second council of Nicæa enacted[e] that bishops should be chosen by their episcopal brethren, and that any nomination by princes should be invalid. But in the new states of the west, the position of the bishops as great landowners, and the political importance which they acquired, occasioned a remarkable mixture of secular and spiritual things. Although it was again and again laid down by Frankish councils that the elections of bishops should be free, without any other condition than the approbation of the sovereign, the usual practice throughout the period appears to have been that bishops were appointed by the crown, whether the nomination were or were not followed by a formal election on the part of the clergy and people.[f] In 614 a synod at Paris enacted that a bishop should be appointed without any payment, by the concurrence of the metropolitan and bishops of the province with the clergy and people of the city.[g] But Clotaire II., in ratifying the canons, introduced considerable alterations in favour of the royal prerogative; among them, he required that a bishop

[c] Giesel. II. i. 40-1.

[d] Fleury, Disc. ii. sect. 10; Schröckh, xix. 408.

[e] C. 3.

[f] Fleury, Disc. ii. sect. 10; Schröckh, xix. 409-10; Planck, ii. 112-18; Rettb. ii. 605-7. Perhaps, as Cardinal Pitra says (Vie de S. Léger, 154-5), the bishops, while they maintained the theory of election, may have found it practically a less evil to leave the appointment to the crown than to the rude laity in general.

[g] Hard. iii. 551.

should be consecrated under a mandate from the crown, and reserved to himself the power of naming a clerk from his household to a vacant see, although he promised in so doing to have regard to the learning and merit of the nominee.[h] It has been supposed that Charlemagne, by a capitulary of 803,[i] professed to restore the ancient usage of election by the clergy and people; but no such enactment was really issued until the reign of Lewis the Pious,[k] while it is certain that in the appointment of bishops the great emperor practically followed the example of his predecessors, and that he was imitated by his descendants.[l]

In Spain, the fourth council of Toledo, in 633, enacted that a bishop should be chosen by the clergy and people of his city, and that the election should be approved by the metropolitan and synod of the province.[m] But at the twelfth council of the same place, in 681, the appointment of bishops by the royal authority alone is mentioned as a matter of settled custom. The process by which this change was effected is unknown.[n]

In England, although Wihtred, king of Kent, in 696, disclaimed the right of appointing bishops,[o] the royal

[h] "Vel certe si de palatio eligitur, per meritum personæ et doctrinæ ordinetur." (Pertz, Leges, i. 14.) Planck (ii. 119) and Rettberg (i. 293) give the interpretation which I have followed; but Thomassin (II. ii. 10. 13; 13. 6) thinks that the words were meant to allow the bishops a power of examining the nominee's qualifications.

[i] Hard. iv. 453, c. 2.

[k] Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 817, c. 2. See Rettb. ii. 607; Waitz, iii. 355, 357.

[l] See the Formularies of Marculf, i. 5-7 (Patrol. lxxxvii.); Planck, ii. 119; Guizot, ii. 320; Ellendorf, i. 239; Waitz, iii. 354. There was some difference between Adrian and Charlemagne on the subject of a commissioner being sent to attend the election of an archbishop for Ravenna in 789. But the pope's objection to this went no further than pointing out that it had not been done on a former occasion; and the tone of his letter, which is very respectful, is greatly misrepresented by the Centuriators and Baronius, who say, "ipsum mendacii arguit et objurgat." See Bouquet, v. 570; Patrol. xcviii. 416-18.

[m] C. 19.

[n] Conc. Tolet. XII. c. 6. See Thomassin, II. ii. 15; Schröckh, xix. 414.

[o] Wilkins, i. 57.

authority influenced their appointment, as they were chosen by the witenagemot of each state in the presence of the king.[p] And here, as in other countries, the influence of the crown gradually became more absolute. From letters written by Alcuin, a century after Wihtred's time, on a vacancy in the archbishoprick of York, it appears that the ancient freedom of election was then giving way; that kings assumed an increased control over the choice of bishops, or even disposed of sees by gift.[q] In the ninth century, the nomination of bishops had passed into the hands of the sovereign, while a shadow of the earlier system was kept up in a formal election of the person so appointed, and in the publication of his name from the pulpit of the cathedral, to which announcement the people replied by acclamations and wishes of long life to their new pastor.[r]

A.D. 796.

(3.) The Frankish sovereigns, in their continual movements, required a staff of clergy to attend on them for the performance of divine service. At the head of this body was placed the archchaplain, whose office became one of great importance. Sometimes it was filled by a presbyter, sometimes by a bishop, who in such a case required a special dispensation for absence from his diocese; but, whether bishop or presbyter, the archchaplain stood next in dignity to the family of the sovereign, and at synods he took precedence even of archbishops. Combining the functions of chancellor with those of chaplain, he acted as a minister of the crown for spiritual affairs; he received reports from the bishops as to the state of their churches, prepared the king's ecclesiastical capitularies and other documents, and conducted his correspondence on matters which

[p] Kemble, ii. 221.

[q] Epp. 48-9. See Lingard, A. S. C. i. 92-3; Blackstone, i. 380.

[r] Planck, ii. 122; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 24; Lappenb. i. 183; Kemble, ii. 377.

concerned the church.[s] Such being the archchaplain's position, it depended on individual character whether he should sway the prince in the interest of the hierarchy, or the prince should by means of him obtain a control over the administration of the church.[t]

(4.) The mixture of clergy and laity in the Frankish councils has been already mentioned.[u] The capitularies bear a marked impress of clerical influence;[x] but it was often possible for sovereigns, by the help of their lay vassals, to overrule the proposals of the bishops as to ecclesiastical affairs, or to carry measures notwithstanding their opposition.[y] Sometimes, however, the clergy were assembled by themselves, as at Verne or Verneuil, in 755, where abbots for the first time appear as members of a Frankish council.[z]

In Spain, from the time when king Recared and his nobles appeared at Toledo, for the purpose of arranging the change from Arianism to the catholic faith (A.D. 589), mixed councils of clergy and laity, summoned by the sovereign, were frequently held.[a] At the earlier sessions of these, from the seventeenth council of Toledo, in 694, the affairs of the church were first discussed by the bishops and abbots, without the presence of the laity; but on the fourth day, the nobles, the judges, and others, were called in to take a part in their deliberations.[b]

Among the Anglo-Saxons, the kings and other laymen attended ecclesiastical synods, while the bishops sat in

Adalhard. de Ordine Palatii, ap. Hincmar. t. ii. 206-8; Thomass. I. ii. 110; Pagi, xiii. 169; Planck, ii. 150; Luden, v. 152-3; Ducange, s. voc. *Capellanus*, where a list of the archchaplains is given.

[t] Planck, ii. 149-52; Guizot, ii. 32.

[u] See vol. ii. p. 341; vol. iii. pp. 8, 225.

[x] Sismondi, ii. 176-8; Guizot, ii. 226-7.

[y] Planck, ii. 148.

[z] Rettb. ii. 626.

[a] Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 4; Lembke, i. 85.

[b] Conc. Tolet. XVII. c. 1; Schröckh, xix. 462; Planck, ii. 144; Gibbon, iii. 420-2. On the clerical influence traceable in the ancient Spanish laws, see Guizot, i. 488.

the witenagemots, or national assemblies. The part which the laity took, however, in councils, did not extend to matters purely spiritual, although it was for the witenagemot to confirm, by the authority of law, the decisions of the clergy in such matters.[c] Bishops took precedence of the lay nobility; and sometimes the archbishops signed the acts of synods before the king himself, as was the case at Chalchythe in 785.[d]

(5.) The claims of the ecclesiastical and secular judicatures in France were variously settled by successive enactments. It may be said in general, that, while the clergy were not amenable to secular judgment in questions between members of their own order, or in the case of ecclesiastical offences, the trial of questions between clerks and laymen belonged to a mixed tribunal of lay and spiritual judges.[e] Priests and deacons were in no case to be tried except with the bishop's knowledge or co-operation; and in important criminal charges, this privilege was extended to the lower clergy.[f] The principle of mixed tribunals was approved by Charlemagne;[g] and although he seems to have in some of his laws exempted the clergy from all secular judgment in questions which concerned their own persons,[h] this exemption was far short of that for which the high hierarchical party contended at a later time. For in cases

[c] Joyce, England's Sacred Synods, 127.

[d] Johnson, i. 284; Planck, ii. 146; Soames, 267.

[e] Conc. Paris. A.D. 614, c. 4; Edict. Clotar. ap. Hard. iii. 654; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 789, c. 28; Planck, ii. 162-8; Rettb. ii. 640; Waitz, iv. 371, seqq.

[f] Pertz, Leges, i. 34; Rettb. ii. 640-1.

[g] Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 30. It is agreed that Charlemagne was not the author of a law ascribed to him, and dated in 810 (Hard. iii. 940-1), renewing the pretended law of Constantine by which one party in a suit might *compel* the other to submit to the bishop's judgment. (See vol. i. p. 423.) By some it is considered a forgery; Gieseler thinks that it may be a genuine *Visigothic* law. See Giesel. II. i. 79-80; Hallam, Middle Ages, i. 508, and Suppl. Notes, 183.

[h] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 38; Capit. Langob. A.D. 803, c. 12; Giesel II, i. 77; Michelet, ii. 38.

which related to the possessions of clergymen, the secular judges still had a share ;[i] the right of judicature was not regarded as inherent in the episcopal office, but as granted, and therefore revocable, by the sovereign, so that in the ninth century bishops are threatened with the loss of it if they neglect to exercise it rightly ;[k] and from metropolitans, as from secular judges, the appeal lay to the emperor, beyond whom there was no appeal.[l] Among the Franks, as formerly under the Roman empire, there were many canons to prohibit clerks from carrying their grievances to the sovereign without abiding the judgment of their immediate superiors, or obtaining the leave of these.[m] Clotaire II., in his edict of 614, ordered that no such recourse to the king should be allowed, except in order to sue for pardon ; but the royal letter of pardon was a protection against all punishment, and the bishops were bound to obey it.[n]

In Spain, canons are found which forbid ecclesiastics to judge in cases of blood, or to inflict mutilation of the members.[o]

In England, the judgment of clerks was as yet on the same footing with that of the laity.[p] But this was before a mixed tribunal—the bishop sitting in the county-court with the ealdorman or earl, as the priests of the old Saxon heathenism had done ;[q] and the papal legates at the council of Chalchythe objected to the custom, as tending to implicate the bishops too much in worldly affairs.[r] Notwithstanding their remonstrance, however, the prac-

[i] Capit. Langob. A.D. 803, c. 12.

[k] Carol. Calv. Capit. A.D. 869, c. 7, Patrol. cxxxviii. 733 ; Planck, ii. 171.

[l] Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 6 ; De Marca, IV. vii. 1 ; Planck, ii. 171, 179, 180, 189 ; Giesel. II. i. 57, 78.

[m] *E.g.*, Conc. Paris. A.D. 614, c. 3 ; Conc. Rem. A.D. 625 (or 630), c. 18 ; Conc. Cabillon. A.D. 650, c. 15 ; Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, c. 18.

[n] Hard. iii. 554. Against the construction which would limit the effect of the pardon to civil offences, see Planck, ii. 190-2.

[o] Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 31 ; Conc. Tolet. XI. A.D. 675, c. 6.

[p] Planck, ii. 175 ; Kemble, ii. 437.

[q] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 101 ; Lappenb. i. 577 ; Kemble, ii. 385.

[r] Conc. Chalch. A.D. 785, c. 10.

tical usefulness of the system secured its continuance, until the spiritual jurisdiction was separated from the secular by William the Conqueror, at the instance of his Norman ecclesiastical advisers.[s]

III. *The Hierarchy.—Administration of the Church.*

(1.) The metropolitan organization had originally grown out of an analogy with the civil divisions of the Roman empire. In the Frankish kingdom, where no such division existed, the system fell into decay,[t] and although Boniface, under the authority of Pope Zacharias and with the countenance of Pipin and Carloman, attempted to restore it, his success was very imperfect.[u] Charlemagne, when at Rome in 774, was urged by Adrian to undertake the revival of the metropolitan jurisdiction,[x] and established it not only in his original dominions, but in those which he acquired.[y] But the new metropolitans had not the same influence as those of earlier times. In the national assemblies the metropolitan met the suffragan bishops as his peers, and a suffragan might by character or ability become more important than his ecclesiastical superior; while the growing connexion between France and Rome, and the increase of the papal power, drew the Frankish clergy to look beyond their metropolitans to the yet higher authority of the popes.[z]

(2.) In the eighth and ninth centuries we find frequent mention of *Chorepiscopi*—a title which in this period has some variety of application. Of those who were subject to the diocesan bishops, some had episcopal consecration, while the greater number were merely presbyters,

[s] Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 102; Kemble, ii. 384.

[t] See vol. ii. p. 341.

[u] See Zachar. Ep. 8, c. 1 (Patrol. lxxxix.); Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, c. 2; Pagi, xii. 495; Thomass. I. i. 33; Planck, ii. 639-41.

[x] Adr. Ep. 55 (Patrol. xcvi.).

[y] Capit. A.D. 779 (Pertz, Leges, i. 36); Capit. A.D. 789, c. 8; Pagi, xiii. 98.

[z] Planck, ii. 649-50.

enjoying a delegated authority in rural places.[a] But besides these, there are frequent denunciations of chorepiscopi who were in the habit of wandering about, without any local authority, and of interfering with the rights of the established bishops by conferring orders and performing other episcopal acts.[b] The chorepiscopi of this class who disturbed the Frankish church were for the most part from Ireland,[c] where the peculiar system of the church encouraged the multiplication of bishops without local jurisdiction;[d] while others may have been consecrated by chorepiscopi who had themselves received consecration as assistants to the diocesan bishops. But even when the original appointment and consecration were regular, chorepiscopi were often disposed to presume beyond their proper function. Charlemagne, in a letter,[e] states that the proceedings of these persons had caused great trouble and scandal; that priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, who had been ordained by bishops, denied the validity of orders conferred by chorepiscopi; and that Pope Leo had disallowed the acts of these intruders. They are (he continues) not really bishops, since they neither have been consecrated by three bishops, nor possess episcopal titles to sees. Ordination, confirmation, veiling of nuns, consecration of churches and of altars, belong only to diocesan bishops —not to chorepiscopi or presbyters, who correspond to the seventy disciples, and not to the apostles. The

[a] Zachar. Ep. 8, c. 1; Pagi, xiii. 552-3. Comp. vol. i. p. 227.

[b] Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, c. 13; Giesel. II. i. 68.

[c] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. III. xx.

[d] See above, p. 11. The third council of Châlons, A.D. 813, speaks of "Scots" as ordaining irregularly, and declares such ordination to be void. (c. 43.) A council at Chalchythe, in 816, forbade "Scots" to officiate in English dioceses, "because we are not certain how or by whom they were ordained." (c. 5.) The real intention of this canon was to check the proceedings of the roving Irish bishops and clergy—not (as has been supposed) to deny the validity of Irish orders. (Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 23.) Johnson wrongly applies it to the Scots of North Britain. i. 302-3.

[e] Hard. iii. 948-50.

emperor says that chorepiscopi had been made by bishops in ignorance of ecclesiastical decrees, and from a wish to devolve their own labour on others; and he forbids that any should be made in future.[f] But in the following century we again meet with notices of this class, most commonly in the way of censure, or of prohibition from exceeding the limits of their commission.[g]

(3.) Towards the end of the eighth century, the office of archdeacon acquired a new character and importance. In earlier times, there had been only one archdeacon in each diocese; but, with a view to a better superintendence of the clergy, the dioceses of the Frankish empire were now divided into archdeaconries,[h] in which the archdeacons, although themselves of a lower degree, had jurisdiction over presbyters, and exercised all the ordinary administration except such acts as especially belonged to the episcopal order.[i] The office became so lucrative that laymen attempted to intrude into it—an abuse which was forbidden by a capitulary of 805,[k] and by many canons of later date.[l] As the archdeacons were not removable except for some grave offence,[m] it was soon found that many of them endeavoured to render themselves independent of their bishops;[n] and from canons of the ninth century it would appear that their exactions and the

[f] Hard. iii. 948-50; Rettb. ii. 609.

[g] *E.g.*, Conc. Worm. A.D. 829, c. 6 (Pertz, Leges, I.); Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, c. 44. See De Marca, II. 14, who traces their continuance to the circumstance that their ordinations, although prohibited, were not annulled; also Gfrörer, 'Die Karolinger,' i. 258.

[h] Planck, ii. 585-7. The arrangement is usually ascribed to Heddo, bishop of Strasburg, who is said to have formed his diocese into seven archdeaconries, with the consent of Pope Adrian, in 774. (Patrol. xcvi. 1243; Planck, ii. 589-90; Giesel. II. i. 67-8.) But Rettberg says that the documents on which this statement rests are spurious. ii. 69.

[i] Thomass. II. i. 19. 9; Augusti, xi. 209. [k] C. 15 (Pertz, Leges, i. 132).

[l] See Planck, iii. 771-2. Similar canons against the invasion even of parochial cures by laymen are found under the Merovingians. Conc. Rem. A.D. 625, c. 19; Conc. Cabillon. A.D. 650, c. 5. [m] Planck, ii. 591.

[n] Ib. 594-5; iii. 769.

insolence of their followers were severely felt by the clergy subject to their jurisdiction.[o]

(4.) The archdeaconries of the new organization were divided into deaneries *(decaniæ)*, each under an archpriest or rural dean *(archi-presbyter)*.[p] The clergy of each deanery met on the first of every month[q] for conference on spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs. The conference was followed by a dinner; but complaints soon arose that these entertainments led to excesses which more than counterbalanced the benefits of the meeting. Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, in his injunctions of 852, found it necessary to denounce the abuse, and to lay down rules for moderation, restricting the allowance of the clergy on such occasions to three cups for each.[r]

(5.) The bishops were required to visit throughout their dioceses every year.[s] The expense of entertaining them on their circuits was often complained of by the clergy; with a view to limiting it, the seventh council of Toledo ordered that the bishop should not on such occasions take more than five (or, according to another reading, fifty) horses in his train, and that his stay in each parish should not exceed one day.[t] But even after this

[o] See Capit. Wormat. A.D. 829, c. 7; Conc. Aquisgr. II. A.D. 836, c. 4; Hincmari Capitula, c. 1, A.D. 877 (Opera, i. 738); Planck, iii. 774.

[p] Thomass. I. ii. 1, 5; II. i. 35. 3; Planck, ii. 586-7. The council of Pavia, under the emperor Lewis II., A.D. 850, orders that archpriests should be everywhere established. Bishops must not object on the ground that they are themselves equal to the whole care of their dioceses; but the archpriests must be strictly subject to them, and must make reports to them. (c. 13.) This order was renewed in a capitulary of the emperor Lambert, A.D. 898, c. 12; Pertz, Leges, i. 565.

[q] Hence the meetings were styled *Kalendæ*. Ducange, s. v., p. 962.

[r] C. 15 (Opera, i. 714). Compare the statutes of Riculf, bishop of Soissons, forty years later, c. 20 (Patrol. cxxxi.).

[s] Capit. A.D. 769, c. 7; Conc. Arelat. A.D. 813, c. 17; Thomass. III. iii. 6. These visitations were called *Sende*—a word which is usually supposed to be a corruption of *Synodi*. (Giesel. II. i. 73.) But Augusti (ix. 124) and Rettberg (ii. 742) prefer to deduce it from an analogy between the episcopal visitation and that of the *missus* or *Sendgraf*. The articles of inquiry drawn up for bishops by Regino are curious. See Patrol. cxxxii. 187-91.

[t] Conc. Tolet. VII., A.D. 646, c. 4.

limitation, the expense continued to be heavy, as appears from the list of provisions required by a Lombard capitulary of 855, which includes a hundred loaves, four large swine, a lamb, a pig, fifty pints of wine, and a sufficiency of honey, oil, and wax.[u] Lewis the Pious, in 829, charges his commissioners to inquire whether the bishops in their visitations are burdensome to the clergy.[x] A capitulary of Charles the Bald, in 844, denounces the misbehaviour which was common among the attendants of bishops when on visitation, and provides that the clergy of five neighbouring parishes shall combine to supply provisions for the usual hospitality to their diocesan. The priest at whose house the entertainment is held is to contribute in the same proportion as the others, with "perhaps" the addition of firewood and utensils.[y] The third council of Valence, in 855, censures an abuse which some bishops had introduced by exacting visitation-dues of their clergy at times when they omitted to visit.[z]

(6.) The parochial system was not yet completely

The authority of MSS. is in favour of *quinquagenarium*, although editors and other writers generally prefer *quinarium*. But if the higher number be too large, the lower seems hardly large enough to be fixed as an extreme. Five hundred years later we find Pope Alexander III. ordering that the archbishop of Sens shall not burden the abbey of St. Germain des Près at Paris, by taking more than 40 horses and 44 men on his visitation of it (Epp. 1286, 1439; Patrol. cc.), and reproving the archbishop because after this order he had taken 70 men in addition to 40 horses (ib. Ep. 1498). The same pope wrote to the clergy of Berkshire that they were not bound to supply their archdeacon with dogs or hawks, to receive him more than once a year, or on such occasions to furnish him with more than was necessary for a day and a night for himself and a train of 7 horses, 7 "personæ," and 7 footservants (Ep. 1371). One of Becket's correspondents says of the bishop of Nevers, "Qui in terra sua *quindecim* esset contentus, apud nos [scil. in Normannia] triginta sex equitaturas adducit." (Patrol. cxc. 727.) May not *quindenarium* be possibly the true reading of the Toledo canon? Cf. Othobon. tit. 18, in Lyndewoode, pt. ii. 114-15.

[u] Capit. Ticin. c. 16 (Pertz, Leges, i. 432).

[x] Hard. iv. 1282.

[y] C. 4. Planck says that by this capitulary the laity might be asked to join in bearing the cost. (ii. 617.) But the real meaning is, that the clergy should take some of the laity with them to the visitation.

[z] C. 22. Cf. Othobon. tit. 18

organized in the Frankish church ; the people in country places were often dependent for divine offices on the clergy of the cathedral city, or on the chaplain of some neighbouring castle.[a] The division of England into parishes has (as we have already seen) been ascribed to the Greek archbishop, Theodore ; but, whatever his share in promoting it may have been, the general establishment of the system appears to have been slowly and gradually effected.[b]

(7.) With a view of enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, it was attempted by frequent enactments to bind the clergy by strict local ties. No stranger was to be admitted to officiate without producing letters of license and recommendation from his bishop.[c] Fugitive clerks were to be examined and sent home ;[d] wandering clergy or monks, who disturbed the church by teaching error or by raising unnecessary questions, were to be apprehended, carried before the metropolitan, and put to suitable penance ;[e] all the clergy of a diocese were to be subject to the bishop's jurisdiction.[f] Presbyters were obliged to remain in the diocese where they were ordained ; some councils required a promise that they would do so,[g] and Charlemagne even imposed an oath to that effect.[h] No bishop was to receive a clerk from another diocese, or to promote him to a higher degree ; but, while this was absolutely forbidden in a capitulary for France, the corresponding enactment for Lombardy allows it with the consent of the bishop to whose diocese

[a] Milman, ii. 232.

[b] See p. 21 ; Collier, i. 540-6 ; Bingham, IX. viii. 4 ; Blackstone, i. 99-100 ; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 156-7 ; Stuart, Pref. to the Book of Deer, cxxxi.

[c] Conc. Aquisgr. A.D 789, c. 3 ; Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 28 ; Conc. Turon. A.D. 813, c. 13.

[d] Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 31.

[e] Conc. Ticin. A.D. 850, c. 21.

[f] Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, cc. 8, 11 ; Capit. A.D. 779, c. 4 ; Capit. A.D. 802, c. 12.

[g] Conc. Valent. A.D. 524, c. 6 ; Conc. Hispal. II. A.D. 619, c. 3, and other Spanish councils cited by Planck, ii. 575-6 ; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 13.

[h] Ib., A.D. 789, c. 24, &c.

the clerk had belonged.[l] And it is evident, from facts which continually meet us in history and biography, that with such consent it was not unusual for clergymen to pass from one diocese, or even from one kingdom, to another.

(8.) During the earlier ages, ordination had not been conferred without a title (*i.e.* without assigning a particular sphere of labour), except in rare and extraordinary instances, such as that of St. Jerome.[k] The same rule was now often re-enacted;[l] but an exception was necessarily made in the case of missionaries, and was by degrees extended to other cases. Although the ancient canons as to the requisites for ordination were still in force, an important novelty was introduced, after the sixth century, by means of the tonsure. This was regarded as conferring the character of a clerk, without ordination to any particular grade of the ministry; and thus clerks were made in great numbers, without any regard to the canonical conditions or impediments of ordination.[m] It may easily be conceived that much disorder was introduced by these "acephalous" (or headless) clerks, who enjoyed the immunities of the clerical state without being bound by its obligations.[n]

(9.) The example of the royal household in France induced persons of rank to establish domestic chaplains.[o] These were often disposed to set the bishops at defiance; and it appears from the testimony of many councils that the institution had an unfavourable effect on the religion of the people in general. It is represented that the absence of the lord from the parish-church encourages

[l] See Pertz, Leges, i. 36, c. 6, A.D. 779.

[k] See vol. ii. p. 16; Conc. Chalced. A.D. 451, c. 6; Thomass. I. 2, 34.

[l] *E.g.*, Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 27; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 22.

[m] Planck, ii. 76-8; Guizot, ii. 37.

[n] The Monk of St. Gall, in his life of Charlemagne (i. 8), styles them *Circumcellions*.

[o] Planck, ii. 89; Guizot, ii. 41-2; Neand. v. 150.

his dependants to absent themselves; that the clergy have no opportunity of enforcing the duties of the rich and powerful;[p] and there are frequent complaints of attempts to withdraw the ecclesiastical dues from the bishops and parochial clergy, in order to provide for the chaplains by means of them.[q] But in addition to these evils, the chaplains were usually persons of low and disreputable character; they were miserably paid, disrespectfully treated by their employers, and required to perform degrading services.[r] The position and habits of chaplains were found to bring discredit on the whole body of the clergy; and hence Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, in the reign of Lewis the Pious, took occasion to write a treatise in vindication of "the privilege and rights of the priesthood." After showing from Scripture the estimation in which the clergy ought to be held, he proceeds by way of contrast to describe the abuses of his own time. Every person of any pretension to station, he says, then kept a priest of his own—"not to obey him, but continually to exact obedience from him, and that in unlawful as well as in lawful things." The chaplains were employed to do the work of bailiffs, butlers, grooms, or dog-keepers, to wait at table, to lead ladies' horses. As no respectable clergyman would accept such a position, the patrons, whose chief object was to obtain an excuse for deserting the public offices of religion and emancipating themselves from the control of the clergy, cared nothing how gross the ignorance of their chaplains might be, or how infamous their lives. They usually took one of the serfs on their estates, or procured a person of servile birth for the purpose, and were offended if the bishop hesitated to ordain him as a matter of

[p] Capit. Attiniac. A.D. 822; Convent. Ticin. 855, c. 3 (Pertz, Leges, i.); Conc. Paris. VI. A.D. 829, c. 47.

[q] *E.g.*, Conc. Ticin. A.D. 855, c. 11.

[r] Conc. Ticin. A.D. 850, c. 18.

course.[s] Even if we might implicitly believe all that has lately been written against the English domestic chaplains of the seventeenth century,[t] it would appear that the class had lost nothing in dignity between the age of Agobard and that of Eachard.

(10.) A new species of ecclesiastical officers arose in Gaul during the sixth and seventh centuries, under the title of advocates, defensors, or *vicedomini*—a word from which are formed the French *vidame* and the German *Vitzthum*.[u] Except in name, these bore no resemblance to the defensors of the earlier ages;[x] the new office grew out of the peculiar circumstances of the Frankish church. The bishops and clergy required the assistance of force to protect them against the outrages of their rough and lawless neighbours. Their landed possessions imposed on them duties which, if not altogether inconsistent with their spiritual office, might, at least, be more conveniently performed by laymen—such as the exercise of secular judicature, and the leading of the contingents which their estates were required to furnish to the national army.[y] Moreover, as, by the Germanic laws, none but freemen, capable of bearing arms, were entitled to appear in law-suits, the clergy (like women, old or infirm

[s] Agob. de Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii, c. 11. The council of Worms, in 829, in consequence of the complaints which had been made against bishops for refusing ordination to chaplains, enacts that laymen shall choose fit persons, and that bishops shall not reject candidates without assigning some evident reason. c. 16 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

[t] Macaulay, Hist. of England, i. 326-7, ed. 4; Thackeray's 'Esmond.' Comp. Nicolas de Clemanges as to the degradation of the clergy in the beginning of the fifteenth century. De Præsulibus Simoniacis (Opera, p. 165).

[u] Schröckh, xxvii. 107.

[x] Planck, ii. 453. This writer finds a sort of parallel in some African canons of the fifth century; but an examination of them will show that he is mistaken. See Conc. Carth. V. A.D. 401, c. 9 (the same with Can. 75 of the African code); Conc. Milev. II. A.D. 416, c. 16. In the first of these, Planck alters the application by reading *ipsis* (the bishops) for *eis* (the poor). For the early defensors, see vol. ii. pp. 338, 375.

[y] Ducange, s. vv. *Advocatus, Vicedominus;* Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. 63 (t. iv.); Planck, ii. 454-9; Hallam, Midd. Ages, i. 143; Giesel. II. i. 76-7; Waitz, iv. 392, seqq.

persons, and children) required substitutes who might appear for them, and, if necessary, might go through the ordeal of battle in their behalf.[z] For such purposes it was found expedient to call in the aid of some neighbouring layman, distinguished by influence or by personal prowess; and his services were usually recompensed by the use of lands belonging to the church, and adjacent to his own, in addition to a share of the fines inflicted in his court, and to other pecuniary dues.[a] The appointment of an advocate was at first a voluntary act; but Charlemagne ordered that every church should be provided with such a champion. The qualifications for the office were very particularly defined, with a view of guarding against misconduct or encroachment; and the advocates were subject to the inspection of the imperial commissioners.[b] The sovereign assigned advocates to churches which were themselves unable to find any. As such grants had the nature of a favour, the advocates thus appointed required higher terms than those whom churches chose for themselves; and from them the others gradually learnt to assume a superiority over the ecclesiastical bodies with which they were connected, to claim dues which absorbed a large portion of the revenues, and to become tyrants instead of protectors,[c] both to the clergy and to their tenants. It was not, however, until after the period which we are now surveying that their relation to the church assumed this character.

(11.) Another encroachment on the church arose out of the system of lay patronage, which had become general throughout the west.[d] In some cases, the right of presentation to a church expired with the founder, while

[z] Planck, ii. 455-7; Rettb. ii. 611-12.

[a] Ducange, s. v. *Advocatus*, p. 107; Planck, ii. 459, 463.

[b] Capit. A.D. 783, c. 3; A.D. 802, c. 13; Waitz, iv. 396

[c] Ducange, s. v. *Advoc.* p. 108; Planck, ii. 464-6; Rettb. ii. 616; Floto, 'Heinrich IV.', i. 83.

[d] See vol. ii. p. 340.

in others it was continued to his representatives.[e] But patrons were not always content with the power of nominating clerks. Sometimes the builder of a church reserved to himself a certain portion of its revenues; sometimes the church was built on speculation—the founder expecting to get more than a reimbursement from the oblations, while he made a composition to pay the incumbent a certain allowance.[f] Against this practice canons were directed, which forbade bishops to consecrate churches erected on such conditions;[g] but the patron was considered to have a legal interest in the preservation and right disposal of the property belonging to his church.[h] Charlemagne allows the sale of churches;[i] and Lewis the Pious enacted that, if the incumbent of a church should have a surplus of income, he should pay "due service" to his landlord.[k] The division of inheritance was sometimes carried into the disposal of church-patronage, so that an "altar" might be divided into several portions, belonging to a like number of priests;[l] such partitions were forbidden by a capitulary of Lewis the German, in 851.[m]

A canon of the fourth council of Toledo provides that, if the founder or benefactor of a church, or his descendants, fall into poverty, an allowance shall be made to them out of its revenues.[n]

The question of patronage was a fruitful source of disagreements between bishops and secular lords.[o] Canons were passed for the purpose of guarding against abuses on both sides—enacting that no layman should present or eject a clerk without the consent of the bishop,

[e] Planck, ii. 623-5.
[f] Ib. 634; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 192; Rettb. ii. 617.
[g] Conc. Bracar. A.D. 572, c. 6.
[h] Planck, ii. 627; Rettb. ii. 617.
[i] Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 54 (Patrol. xcvii.)
[k] Capit. A.D. 817, c. 10.
[l] Thomass. II. i. 31-4.
[m] C. 5. Cf. Conc. Tribur. A.D. 895, c. 32.
[n] Conc. Tolet. IV., A.D. 633, c. 38.
[o] Rettb. ii. 618

while, on the other hand, the bishop was forbidden to rej ect a presentee except on good and valid grounds.[p]

(12.) In the beginning of the period, we find many denunciations of simony in the writings of Gregory the Great. He complains of this "first of heresies," this "buying and selling of doves in the temple," as prevailing in all quarters—in Gaul, in Germany, in Africa, in Greece and Epirus, in the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem;[q] and he continually urges both princes and high ecclesiastics to join with him in labouring to suppress it. But in defiance of all denunciations and penalties, the evil continued, and from age to age there are frequent complaints both against patrons who, for the sake of gifts, nominated worthless persons to ecclesiastical office, and against bishops who corruptly conferred ordination.[r]

(13.) The Frankish church continued to increase in wealth. Estates, sometimes of very great extent, were bestowed on it with the declared object of securing for the giver the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul.[s] And the inducements to make such donations were increased by the system of *precarious* contracts—so called because the giver, in endowing the church with his lands, *prayed* that the use of them might be allowed him for his lifetime, or perhaps that it might be continued to one or more persons in succession after him.[t] Thus

[p] Capit. A.D. 809 (Pertz, Leges, i. 161); Conc. Arelat. c. 4; Conc. Mogunt. c. 29; Conc. Turon. c. 15 (all in 813); Capit. A.D. 817, c. 9; Thomass. II. i. 31.

[q] *E.g.*, Epp. v. 53, 55, 57; vi. 8; ix. 49, 106; xi. 46; xii. 28; xiii. 41; Hom. in Evang. I. iv. 4.

[r] *E.g.*, Capit. A.D. 789, c. 21; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 30; Conc. Rem. A.D. 813, c. 21: and some of the canons cited in note above.

[s] See Marculf's Formularies, ii. 2, seqq. (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

[t] They were also styled *præstariæ*, because the church *lent* the lands on the terms proposed (Rettb. ii. 704), and they were also very commonly styled *beneficia* in a special sense. (Waitz, iv. 154; Ducange, s. v. *Beneficia*, p. 651.) See Marculf, ii. 40, and many forms in the appendix; Thomass. III. i. 8; Guizot, iii. 26. Ducange, s. vv. *Præstaria*, *Precaria*

many who would have scrupled to deprive themselves of the income arising from an estate, were enabled to perform an act of bounty without expense to themselves, or even to make a profit by it; for the church, in consideration of the reversion assured to itself, in many cases allowed a donor to enjoy not only his own land, but other lands of perhaps much greater value than that of which his gainful piety was to deprive his heirs.[u] With a view to the limitation of this abuse, it was enacted by the council of Epernay in 846, that a donor of land should not be allowed to receive more than twice the value of his gift by way of addition; that kings should not sanction precarious contracts except at the request of the church; and that, agreeably to ancient custom, the contract should require renewal every fifth year.[x]

(14.) The lands of the church were either cultivated by its serfs for the benefit of the owners, or they were let to tenants, whether free or servile, who paid a fixed proportion of the produce by way of rent.[y] In addition to these lands and to the oblations, the ecclesiastical revenues were now swelled by the general imposition of tithes. Under the old Roman system, a tenth of the produce of land was paid by the *coloni* to the state as rent; and when lands were granted on this condition to a corporation, a second tenth—a ninth of the remaining produce—was paid by the tenant to whom it was underlet. These two payments were known by the name of "tenths and ninths" (*decimæ et nonæ*).[z] The church, as a large holder of lands under the state, exacted the

Muratori, in his 36th Dissertation on Italian Antiquities (t. iii.) discusses the subject, and gives many illustrative documents.

[u] Planck, ii. 390-4; Rettb. ii. 704-5. See Marculf, ii. 39. The additional grant was sometimes continued to one or more successors. Ducange, s. v. *Precaria*.

[x] C. 22. See Pertz, Leges, i. 388, 390.

[y] Rettb. ii. 718-20.

[z] Ib. 708-10; Giesel. II. i. 74; Waitz, iv. 165.

ninths from its tenants; while sometimes, by special grant, it was excused from the payment of the fiscal tenth, and consequently was entitled to receive tenths as well as ninths for its own benefit.[a]

The ecclesiastical or Levitical tithe was a third charge, distinct from these rent-payments.[b] The earliest canon which required it, was passed by the council of Mâcon in 585.[c] But it would seem that this canon had little effect, and no attempt to reinforce it was made by the Frankish councils during the remainder of the Merovingian period.[d] Pipin for the first time added the authority of the secular power to that of the church for the exaction of tithes;[e] but little was done until the reign of Charlemagne, who by a capitulary of 779 enacted that they should be paid.[f] The payment was enforced, not only by excommunication, but by heavy civil penalties, graduated according to the obstinacy of the delinquent;[g] and the obligation was extended to the newly-acquired territories beyond the Rhine, where (as we have already seen) it had the effect of exciting a strong prejudice against the Christian faith.[h] The council of Frankfort (A.D. 794) represents the opposition to tithes as one of the offences by which a late scarcity had been provoked; devils, it is said, had been seen devouring the hoarded corn of those who refused the church its due, and voices had been heard in the air, uttering reproof of the general sin.[i]

The tithe had at first been exacted only for corn. It

[a] Rettb. ii. 627-33, 710, 713.

[b] See Giesel. II. i. 74; Döllinger, ii. 32; and Rettb. ii. 711-15, with his citations from the capitularies of 779, the councils of Frankfort and Mentz, etc. Waitz, however, thinks that as yet the payment to the church was included in the tenths and ninths. iv. 167.

[c] C. 5. See vol. ii. p. 341.

[d] As to a council at Rouen, which passed a canon for tithes, and is wrongly referred to this period, see Hefele, iii. 89.

[e] Encycl. de Letaniis faciendis, A.D. 765 (Patrol. xcvi. 1519); Rettb. ii. 714.

[f] C. 7 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

[g] Capit. Langob. A.D. 803, c. 19 (ib.); Giesel. II. i. 74.

[h] See p. 115.

[i] C. 25.

was then extended to other productions of the soil, such as flax and wine, and in some places to the increase of animals. The enactments of Charlemagne's time usually speak of it as payable on the "whole property";[k] but it was long before the clergy succeeded in establishing a general compliance with their claims in this respect.

The capitulary of 829 forbids the receiver of tithe to give the payers food, or any other consideration which might lead them to suppose that the payment depended on their own will.[l]

In England it appears that tithes were not enforced until about the end of Bede's lifetime.[m] The mention of them in the so-called "Excerptions of Egbert," archbishop of York,[n] is not to be relied on; but Boniface, whose exertions contributed to the establishment of the impost among the Franks and their dependents, is a witness for the payment of it in his native country.[o]

(15.) The abuse by which the Frankish princes granted the beneficial use of church-lands to laymen had defied the efforts of Boniface, and continued throughout the reign of Charlemagne.[p] The holders of such benefices[q] were now required by canons to pay tenths and ninths

[k] *E.g.*, Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 6; Planck, ii. 419-23; Rettb. ii. 716.

[l] Cc. 5, 7 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

[m] A.D. 730. See Lingard, A.S.C. i. 183.

[n] See Thorpe, 326; Johnson, i. 185, 229; Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 415.

[o] Ep. ad. Cudberct. (Patrol. lxxxix. 767); Kemble, ii. 480. There has been much discussion as to a grant by which Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred, in 854-5, bestowed some kind of tenth on the church. (Asser, in Mon. Hist. Brit. 470; Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 855.) This has been described as the first English law for the general payment of tithes (Inett, i. 271-80); but the best authorities consider that it related, not to tithes payable by the king's subjects, but to a tenth part of the crown land in Wessex. See Spelman's Life of Alfred, with Hearne's note, Oxf. 1709, p. 22; Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 175; Palgrave, Ang.-Sax. Commonwealth, i. 159; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 181; Williams, n. in Florent. Wigorn. i. 74; Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 636, seqq.

[p] Waitz, iv. 156, seqq.

[q] This was the only sense of the word *benefice* then known. (Ducange, s. v. *Beneficium;* Fleury, Disc. ii. c. 8.) See Guizot, iii. 22; Waitz, iii. 18-19. (Compare, however, p. 199 above, note [t].) The earliest use of *beneficium* for an ecclesiastical benefice is said to be in the Council of Mentz, A.D. 813.

to the church, and also to repair, or contribute to repair, the churches which were situated on their lands.[r] But it would appear that great difficulty was found in enforcing the canons against this powerful class; the council of Tours, in the last year of the reign, states that complaints had often been made to the *missi* of their neglect to pay tenths and ninths, but that such complaints met with no attention.[s]

(16.) The disposal of the church's income was still in the hands of the bishops; but in the new kingdoms of the west the deacons did not, as such, take the same part in the administration of it by which their order had become so important in the earlier ages.[t] The steward *(œconomus)*, by whom the bishop was assisted in this part of his administration, might be either a deacon or a priest; his dignity was next to that of the bishop, and he had the guardianship of the see when vacant.[u] In some places the division of the funds was quadripartite—one portion being assigned to the bishop and his household, one to the rest of the clergy, one to the poor and strangers, and one to the fabric and expenses of the church; in other places, it was tripartite—a third to the bishop, one to the clergy, and one to the necessities of the church.[x] The tripartite division was known as the Spanish custom; the quadripartite, as the Roman:[y] and bishops are found announcing that, although entitled to the third part which was prescribed by the canon of Toledo, they will be content with a quarter, agreeably

[r] Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, cc. 25-6; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 42; Conc. Arelat. A.D. 813, c. 25.

[s] C. 33.

[t] Planck, ii. 445-7. See vol. i. pp. 222, 427-8.

[u] Thomass. III. ii. 8-9.

[x] See Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 33; Capit. A.D. 799, c. 13; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 7, etc.; Planck, ii. 240; Rettb. ii. 722. Thomassin mentions other divisions. III. ii. 15-18.

[y] See Pope Simplicius, Ep. 3, A.D. 475 (Patrol. lviii.). Archdeacon Hale, in two pamphlets published in 1832-3, has shown reason for believing that these divisions never existed in England.

to the usage of Rome.[z] The bishops were sometimes charged by the inferior clergy with taking more than their due proportion, and from the sixth century downwards canons were passed in order to restrain them from doing so.[a] Even where the full amount of the clergy's share was fairly paid to them as a body, the allowance of each individual still depended on the will of the bishop, who thus had every clerk at his mercy.[b] Where the tithe was paid in kind, it is probable that some composition was agreed on between the local clergy and the bishops, in order to avoid the inconveniences of removing it.[c] The council of Worms, in 829, ordered that bishops who had a sufficient income from other property should relinquish their canonical share of the tithes for the uses of the church and of the poor.[d]

Capitularies were often passed to prevent the payers of tithes from taking the disposal of them into their own hands, instead of leaving it to the bishops; and from making the payment to some church which private reasons might lead them to prefer, rather than to that church which was rightfully entitled to it. In such cases, the *missi* were to take care that proper restitution should be made.[e]

There is some inconsistency in the enactments of Spanish councils as to the dues which should be paid to the bishops. The second council of Braga, in 572, for-

[z] *E.g.*, Heito of Basel, about A.D. 820, Capit. 15 (Hard. iv. 1243). So the Lombard bishops at Pavia, A.D. 856, c. 15 (Pertz, Leges, i.). Such passages seem to refute the opinion of Fra Paolo Sarpi (Trattato delle Materie Beneficiarie, c. 8; cf. Hale, i. 21), that the tripartite and quadripartite divisions did no more than prescribe the appropriation of portions to certain uses, without requiring that the portions should be equal.

[a] Conc. Carpentorat. A.D. 527 (Patrol. lxxxiv. 289), and the Spanish councils cited below. See Planck, ii. 601-2.

[b] Ib. 598-600.

[c] Ib. 610. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, A.D. 797, forbids the storing of hay or other crops in churches, c. 8 (Hard. iv. 914).

[d] C. 5 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

[e] *E.g.*, Capit. A.D. 828, c. 6, Capit. Ticin. A.D. 850, c. 17.

bids them to take the third part of the oblations, and instead of it allows them only a yearly payment of two *solidi* from each parish.[f] The fourth council of Toledo, held in 633, under a different government, in enacting that the bishop should not take more than a third, makes no reference to the canon of Braga. But another council at Toledo, in 646, re-enacts that canon; and one yet later, in 655, reverts to the system of allowing the bishop a third.[g] The exaction of two *solidi* afterwards found its way into France; but there, in course of time, the bishops, instead of acknowledging it as a substitute for the third part, required it as an additional due, under the name of *cathedraticum*.[h]

The burdens imposed on the clergy by the expenses of the bishop's visitation have already been mentioned.[i] The new institution of archdeacons, who claimed dues in right of their office, also contributed to impoverish the parochial clergy.[k]

(17.) The estates of the church in France, with the exception of the parish-priest's *mansus* or glebe,[l] were subject to the payment of all the ordinary taxes, unless exempted by special privilege. The case was very different in England, where church-land was exempt from all but what was styled the "threefold necessity" (*trinoda necessitas*)—the obligation to contribute towards the national forces, the building of fortresses, and the expenses of bridges and highways.[m]

(18.) As in earlier ages, canons continued to be passed forbidding the clergy to engage in secular employments.[n]

[f] C. 2.

[g] Planck, ii. 607-13.

[h] Capit. Tolos. A.D. 844, c. 2. It is here prescribed as a substitute for certain payments in kind. Cf. Ducange, s. v. *Cathedraticum*; Planck, ii. 617.

[i] P. 191.

[k] Planck, ii. 617.

[l] Ib. iii. 445-6. See the next chapter.

[m] See Conc. Berghamst. A.D. 696, in Wilkins, i. 50; Ethelbald, A.D. 742, ib. 86; Kemble, ii. 436.

[n] *E.g.*, Conc. Forojul. c. 5 (Hard. iv. 858); Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 14; Conc. Cabil. A.D. 813, c. 12; Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, c. 49.

In England, the mass-priests were required to learn some handicraft, to practise it, and to teach it to their clerks; not, however, with a view to their own gain, but in order that they might avoid the temptations of idleness, and might have the means of relieving the poor.[o] And similar orders are found in France and elsewhere.[p]

(19.) The high social position of ecclesiastics in the Germanic kingdoms appears from the rates at which their lives were valued. The payment known by the name of *wehr*, an institution common to the whole German race,[q] (but by no means limited to it), was originally intended as a composition which should satisfy the relations of a slain person for his life, and re-establish peace between them and the slayer, so that the nation might not, on account of private enmities, be deprived of the service of its members.[r] The principle by which the female relations of the slain man were excluded from any share of this payment—namely, that they were not capable of carrying on a feud—might naturally have been considered as extending to the clergy;[s] but when these became a powerful order, the church claimed a wehr for their death. In France, the wehr of a presbyter was equal to that of a count; the wehr of a bishop, to that of a duke.[t] In England an archbishop was rated in this respect as equal to an *atheling*, or prince of the blood; a

[o] Canons of K. Edgar (Thorpe, 396); Lingard, A.S.C. i. 169. The Anglo-Saxons gave the title of *priest* to all the clergy; the presbyters were distinguished as *mass*-priests. Ib. 147.

[p] Thomass. III. 3, 12.

[q] Tacit. Germ. 21. Compare Grote, Hist. of Greece, ii. 131, as to the ποινὴ of the Homeric Greeks. Also E. W. Robertson, 'Scotland under her Early Kings,' vol. ii. 275, seqq.

[r] Turner, ii. 507-10; Rettb. ii. 643-5; Perry, c. x. Marculf gives the form of an acquittance from the relations of a slain man for the wehr. ii. 18 (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

[s] Rettb. ii. 645.

[t] The wehr, as fixed in the additions to the Salic law, A.D. 803, was, for a sub-deacon, 300 solidi; for a deacon, 400; for a monk, 400; for a priest, 600; for a bishop, 900. Pertz, Leges, i. 113; Rettb. i. 645-8.

bishop, to an *ealdorman*, or earl; a mass-priest, to a *thane* or lesser noble.[u]

In days when the lay nobles were unable to read or write, the possession of learning marked out ecclesiastics as the only persons qualified for many important offices. The bishops, as men of counsel, got precedence of the counts, the men of the sword.[v] It was the policy of Charlemagne to elevate the hierarchy by way of a counterpoise to the power of his rude vassals.[x] He orders that all shall pay obedience to the bishops, and declares that those who refuse it shall have no home within the empire, "even if they were his own sons."[y]

As the secular advantages of the clerical profession became greater, it was sought by members of the dominant race, who had before left it in the hands of the conquered. The occurrence of barbaric names among the clergy from the seventh century indicates the time when Franks began to enter into ecclesiastical orders;[z] and very soon after, the effect of the change is seen in the necessity of laws to restrain the clergy from secular habits and occupations. Bishops led to the field the troops which their lands were required to furnish towards the national army, and not only gave their personal attendance (which was a matter of obligation, and might in some respects have been beneficial), but engaged in bodily service. They were unwilling to admit that their spiritual calling could deprive them of the birthright which belonged to every free Frank, to share in the wars of his people; they wished, too, by proving themselves men of action, to show that their property was not to be invaded with im-

[u] Thorpe, 79; Turner, iii. 233; Kemble, ii. 399, 434.

[v] Planck, ii. 87-9.

[x] Hallam, Midd. Ages, i. 172.

[y] Hard. iv. 940.

[z] See vol. ii. p. 340; Fleury, Disc. ii. c. 8. Such names were soon in a majority, but in many cases they were adopted by the Romanized Gauls. Rückert, ii. 400.

punity by their lay neighbours,[a] and possibly to preserve their estates from being applied by the sovereign to reward the military services of other men.[b] Boniface endeavoured to suppress such practices: it was enacted that the clergy should not carry arms; that only so many of them should accompany the army as might be requisite for the duties of chaplains, and that these should confine themselves to their proper functions.[c] But the reform seems not to have lasted long; Charlemagne renews the orders of his father's time, and exhorts the clergy, instead of bearing arms, to trust in God for protection.[d] A suspected document represents him as explaining that the object of such enactments was not, as the bishops had supposed, to deprive them of their honours.[e] But even during the remaining years of his reign fresh prohibitions were necessary; and when the strong hand of the great emperor was removed, the warlike inclinations of the Frank bishops were displayed in a greater degree than ever.[f] In England also the clergy were disposed to bear arms, as a right belonging to their free condition, and canons were passed to check the practice.[g]

While the Frankish laws restrained the pugnacity of the clergy, care was also taken to prevent the owners of property from evading the obligations attached to it under colour of ordination, or of the monastic profession.

[a] Ducange, s. v. *Hostis*, p. 717: Planck, ii. 222-4.

[b] Waitz, iv. 503.

[c] Karlom. Capit. A.D. 742, c. 2; Capit. Vermer. A.D. 753, c. 16.

[d] Capit. A.D. 769, c. 1; Capit. A.D. 789, c. 69. From the order of 769, "ut sacerdotes neque Christianorum neque paganorum sanguinem fundant" (c. 2), it appears that the clergy had already made a distinction in favour of slaughtering pagans, which was afterwards fully sanctioned in the crusades.

[e] The word *honores* is supposed by some to mean *dignities*, the prohibition of arms being regarded as degrading to free-born Franks; others refer it to the *fiefs* held by bishops; as if, by being disarmed, they would become unable to defend these (see Schröckh, xix. 449; Neand. v. 140; Waitz, iv. 183-4). But both the petition by which Charlemagne is said to have been requested at Worms, in 803, to prevent bishops from taking the field, and the answer here quoted (Hard. iv. 941-3), are omitted by Pertz, and are now regarded as spurious. Rettb. ii. 637.

[f] Schröckh, xix. 450; Planck, ii. 225.

[g] Lingard. A. S. C. i. 103-5, 170.

Thus we find an order in 799 that no noble should receive the tonsure unless after an examination of his case before the bishop of the diocese, and that if such a clerk should afterwards wish to reside on his own land, he should perform the same military service as others.[h]

With the carrying of arms other secular habits and amusements are forbidden to the clergy—as the keeping of hounds and hawks,[i] games of chance,[k] noisy entertainments, worldly songs and instrumental music,[l] and the company of minstrels and buffoons.[m]

(20.) The most remarkable regulations as to the marriage of the clergy during this period belong to the east—being those of the Trullan council (A.D. 691?). This council is strongly opposed to second marriages. Presbyters who persist in such marriages are to be deposed; if the second wife be dead, or if the husband separate from her, he shall be allowed to hold his rank, but shall be excluded from priestly functions. If a priest, a deacon, or a subdeacon marry a widow, he shall separate from his wife, shall be suspended, and shal be incapable of higher promotion.[n] The council forbids, under pain of deposition, the practice of African and Libyan bishops, who were reported to cohabit with their wives; the wife of a bishop is ordered to separate from him, and to go into a convent.[o] It censures the practice of the Armenians, who required that the clergy should be of priestly family, and allowed those who were so born to officiate as singers and readers without receiving the

[h] Stat. Salisb. 13 (Patrol. xcvii. 208); cf. Conc. Carisiac. A.D. 877, c. 10 (ib. cxxviii. 776); Waitz, iv. 500-2.

[i] Capit. A.D. 869, c. 3.

[k] Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 14; Canons of K. Edgar, 64 (Thorpe, 401).

[l] Conc. Forojul. c. 5 (Hard. iv. 858).

[m] Conc. Turon. III. A.D. 813, c. 5; Canons of Edgar, 58 (Thorpe, 401).

[n] C. 3.

[o] Cc. 12, 48. This is regarded by some as the first ecclesiastical law to such effect, although it had been preceded by the civil law of Justinian (vol. ii. p. 337). See Schröckh, xix. 477; Giesel. I. ii. 480.

tonsure ;[p] and it forbids the clergy to marry after their ordination as subdeacons.[q] But in its 13th canon, after stating that the Roman church exacted of persons ordained as presbyters or deacons a promise to abstain from their wives, the council expressly sanctions the contrary practice, and grounds its sanction on the "apostolical canons." No promise is to be required, no separation is to be enforced ; deposition is threatened against any one who shall deprive priests, deacons, or subdeacons of their wives, and against all members of these orders who under pretence of religion shall forsake their partners. And, while the 29th canon allows the clergy of "barbaric" churches to separate, if they think it their duty to do so, and if their wives consent, the permission is declared to be granted only in condescension to the narrow scrupulousness[r] which may be expected in such churches.

A council which in this and other points directly and avowedly contradicted the principles and usages of Rome was not likely to find favour with the popes, and as we have seen, it was rejected by Sergius I.[s] But the sanction which it gave to the marriage of the clergy has ever since continued to regulate the discipline of the Greek church.

In the west, the period presents us with many enactments against the marriage of the clergy. The Merovingian kings added their authority to confirm the ecclesiastical canons which forbade it.[t] But it would seem that, notwithstanding the frequency of the prohibitions, many of the clergy continued to marry—more especially where the authority of the popes was not fully established, as in Lombardy, Spain, and some parts of Gaul and of Germany.[u] The see of Chur, in the Grisons, was

[p] C. 33. [q] C. 6. [r] Μικροψυχία. [s] Vol. ii. p. 441.
[t] Theiner, i. 375. [u] Ib. 434; Rettb. ii. 656-7.

hereditary in a family of bishops who combined the powers of spiritual and civil government. The wife of one of these, about the middle of the seventh century, in signing documents, styled herself *episcopa* or *antistita Curiensis;* and the marriage of the bishops implies that the clergy were also at liberty to marry.[x]

A question put by Augustine to Gregory the Great seems to show that marriage had been usual among the British clergy.[y] The law of the Anglo-Saxon church on this subject was the same with that of Rome; but here too there is frequent proof that the clergy continued to enter into the married state; nor was their marriage annulled or the issue of it declared illegitimate until the latter part of the twelfth century.[z]

As in the earlier periods, the canons for the enforcement of celibacy are accompanied by many which indicate the disastrous effects of such measures. There are very frequent enactments as to the entertainment of women in the houses of the clergy. The fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633) renews the orders of earlier Spanish councils that the concubines of clerks shall be sold;[a] the ninth council of the same place (A.D. 655) adds that their children shall be serfs of the church.[b] Some canons forbid the clergy to have as inmates of their houses even those nearest female relatives who had been allowed by the council of Nicæa,[c]—alleging by way of reason that

[x] Theiner, i. 433-4; Rettb. ii. 134-8. Ducange, with reference to this "bishopess," erroneously interprets *antistita* by *abbatissa*.

[y] "An clerici non continere valentes possint contrahere; et si contraxerint, an debeant ad sæculum redire?" Interrog. 2, ap. Greg. Ep. xi. 94. Instead of fully answering this question, Gregory gives the direction as to clerks in the lower orders quoted in vol. ii. p. 390. See Theiner, i. 379.

[z] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 176; Kemble, ii. 443-7; Rettb. ii. 655.

[a] C. 43. See vol. ii. p. 336.

[b] C. 10.

[c] (See vol. i. p. 445). Conc. Forojul. A.D. 796 (?), c. 4 (Hard. iv. 858); Egbert, Excerpt. 15, A.D. 740 (Wilkins, i.); Theodulphi Capitul. 12 (Hard. iv. 905); Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 15 (Pertz, Leges, i.). The third council of Braga, A.D. 675, allows none but the mother, unless with a special license. c. 5.

other persons had often been introduced under the pretence of relationship, and that even the laws of nature had been violated. The councils of Charlemagne's reign in general, however, are content with renewing the Nicene rule.[d]

(21.) An important attempt at reform was made about the year 760 by the institution of the canonical life. The title of canons (*canonici*), which had formerly been given to all the clergy, on account of their being enrolled in the *canon* or register of the church, and entitled to maintenance from its funds,[e] was now applied in a new meaning, to designate clergy who lived under a *canon* or rule, resembling that of the monastic communities.[f] The idea of such an institution was not new; for in earlier times Eusebius of Vercelli, Hilary of Arles, and the great Augustine had shown the example of living together with their clergy;[g] and more recently a like practice had been usual in missionary bodies, where the bishop lived with his staff of clergy and monks.[h] But it was now reduced to a regular system by Chrodegang, a nephew of Pipin, and archbishop of Metz.[i]

Chrodegang's scheme was in great measure an adaptation of the Benedictine rule to the different circumstances of the clergy. The bishop held a place corresponding to that of the Benedictine abbot, the archdeacon answered to the provost or prior, the seniors had the same oversight

[d] *E.g.*, Capit. A.D. 789, c. 3; Capit. A.D. 806, c. 1; Conc. Mogunt, A.D. 813, c. 49. So Conc. Aquisgr. A.D. 816, c. 30. But the second council of Aix, A.D. 836, excludes all women, c. 11.

[e] Thomass. I. iii. 9. 1; Ducange, s. v.; Holsten. Præf. in Cod. Regul. i. p. 13. See Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 185-8 for other derivations.

[f] Schrockh, xx. 80; Rettb. i. 495.

[g] Vita Hilar. Arel. 15 (Patrol. l.); Thomass. I. iii. 2.

[h] Rettb. ii. 662-4.

[i] The see of Metz was only a bishopprick; but Chrodegang (who held it from 742 to 766), and some of his successors, received the title of archbishop, with the pall, from the pope as a personal distinction. (Anastas. in Patrol. lxxxix. 1056; Sigeb. Gemblac., Vita Deodorici Mettens. 10, ap. Pertz, iv.; Rettb. i. 494-5.) There is an imperfect Life of him in Pertz, x.

in both systems.[k] Like Benedict, the father of the canonical institute prescribed a common dwelling, an uniform dress, a common table, a common dormitory, unless where the bishop should be pleased to allow an exception.[l] The clergy were required to attend certain services daily.[m] Every day they were to practise manual labour,[n] and were to devote certain portions of their time to study.[o] The younger members of the society were to show respect to the elders—as by rising and bowing when they passed, by asking their benediction, and by standing in their presence, unless specially permitted to sit down.[p] All were to confess to the bishop in Lent, and again in autumn; stripes or imprisonment were threatened as the penalties for going to any other confessor. All who were not prevented by sin were to communicate every Sunday and on other chief festivals.[q] Articles of clothing were to be supplied at stated times; the elders were then to give up the clothes which they had worn, and these were to be transferred to the juniors.[r] All were to take their turns in the services of the house; each was in his order to cook for a week, the archdeacon and the cellarer being the only exceptions.[s] Laymen were not to be admitted, except for some special purpose, such as that of assisting in the kitchen; and they were to leave the house as soon as their work was done.[t]

The dietary of the canons was more liberal than that prescribed by the Benedictine rule.[u] They were permitted to eat flesh, except during penitential seasons.[x] They had an allowance of wine (or of beer, if they preferred it), graduated according to their rank—for priests and

[k] Chrodeg. Regula (ap. Hard. iv. 1181, seqq.), c. 35.
[l] Cc. 3-4.
[m] Cc. 5-7.
[n] C. 9.
[o] C. 8.
[p] C. 2.
[q] C. 14.
[r] C. 29.
[s] C. 24.
[t] C. 3.
[u] See Conc. Aquisgr. A.D. 816, l. i. c. 115.
[x] C. 22.

deacons, three cups at dinner and two at supper; for subdeacons, two at each meal; for the lower orders, two at dinner and one at supper.[y] There were to be seven tables in the hall,[z] appropriated respectively to the bishop, to the various orders of canons, to strangers, and to the clergy of the city, who on Sundays and other festivals dined in the college, and partook of the instruction which was given in the chapter-house. [a]Edifying books were to be read at meals, and, in order that they might be heard, silence was to be kept, "because it is necessary that, when one taketh his bodily food, then also the soul should be refreshed with spiritual food." [b]

The most important difference from the Benedictine rule was, that the canons were allowed to enjoy individual property—whether that which they had possessed before entering into the society, or such fees and presents as they might receive for the performance of religious offices. They were, however, obliged at their death to leave all to the brethren.[c]

From Metz the rule of Chrodegang soon made its way to other cities.[d] The number of its chapters was increased by additions from 34 to 86.[e] Charlemagne even wished to reduce the whole of the clergy to this system;[f] and, although the attempt failed, and the great majority of the clergy continued to live as seculars,[g] many colleges of canons were formed under the government of abbots, in addition to the cathedral bodies for which the scheme had originally been intended.[h] The rule was sanctioned

[y] C. 23.

[z] C. 20.

[a] C. 8. The *capitulum*, or chapter-house, was so called because among the Benedictines a chapter of their founder's rule was there read every day. Ducange, s. v.; Walter, 308.

[b] C. 21.

[c] Cc. 31-2.

[d] Planck, ii. 558-60.

[e] Both forms are given by Hardouin, iv. 1181, seqq.; and in the Patrologia, lxxxix.

[f] Capit. Langob. A.D. 782, c. 2; Capit Aquisgr. A.D. 789, c. 72; Capit. A.D. 805, c. 8.

[g] Milman, ii. 229.

[h] Thomass. I. iii 9. 7; Retrb. ii. 667.

for general use by a great council at Aix-la-Chapelle under Lewis the Pious, in 816;[i] and by the middle of the ninth century it was established in almost all the cathedrals of France, Germany, and Italy, and had also been adopted in England.[k] The clergy found their account in the apparent strictness of the new system, as a means of recovering much of that popular admiration which the monks had long enjoyed to the prejudice of the hierarchical orders;[l] and in consequence of this strictness, donations were largely bestowed on the canonical societies. The cathedral chapters became wealthy and powerful, and soon began to assert a claim to act as the bishop's advisers, and to share in the administration of the diocese.[m]

IV. *Monasticism.*

During these centuries the monks played an important part in western Christendom. The missions to the Germanic nations were chiefly their work; they planted colonies in lonely places, where towns soon grew up, as at Fulda, St. Gall, Eichstedt, and Fritzlar; and with the knowledge of religion they spread that of agriculture and civilization among the people.[n] Through the employment of monks in missionary labour, ordination was more largely introduced into their ranks, as a necessary qualification for missionary duties.[o] In some cases, sees were usually filled with monks from certain abbeys—an arrange-

[i] The council also made other regulations for canons. Lib. i. cc. 115, seqq. On the relations of Chrodegang's rule to that of the Aix council, see Hefele, iv. 16. Gerhoch of Reichersperg, a rigid hierarchist of the twelfth century, reflects severely on the Aix rule as a mongrel production, enacted by secular authority alone, without papal sanction. In Psalm lxiv. cc. 123, seqq.; De Ædif. Dei, 3, &c. (Patrol. cxciv.): Cf. Pet. Damiani, Opusc. xxiv. c. 3 (Patrol. cxlv.).

[k] Planck, ii. 560; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 163.

[l] Planck, ii. 562-4; Guizot, ii. 313-15.

[m] Planck, ii. 632.

[n] Schröckh, xx. 16; Planck, ii. 482. The civilizing agency of the monks is eloquently described in M. de Montalembert's work on Western Monachism.

[o] Schröckh, xx. 5-7; Planck, ii. 472.

ment the more natural because learning was chiefly cultivated in the monastic societies. Thus Strasburg received its bishops from Münster in Alsace, Spires from Weissenburg, Constance from Reichenau or St. Gall.[p]

The reputation of sanctity continued to wait on the monks. The term *religion*, which had been specially applied to the monastic profession by a council at Orleans as early as 549,[q] became more and more restricted to it.[r] Entrance on the monastic state was regarded as a second baptism. The Penitential ascribed to Theodore of Canterbury curiously follows out this idea by ordering that the novice shall for seven days have his head covered with the cowl, as the head of the newly-baptized was covered with the chrism or veil;[s] and a like order, although with an abridgment of the time to three days, was made under Lewis the Pious in 817.[t] Persons of high rank flocked into the cloisters; it was no unusual thing even for kings and queens to resign their royalty and to assume the monastic habit.[u]

During the earlier part of the period there was a considerable variety of rules. That of St. Columban for a time appeared to rival the Benedictine code in popularity. It became not uncommon to combine the two;[x] but by degrees the rule of St. Benedict triumphed, as being marked in a greater degree by practical sense, less rigo-

[p] Planck, ii. 470, 520.

[q] C. 19. In Salvian, the term *religiosi* includes clergy as well as monks (Baluz. in Salv., Patrol. liii. 31, 86, 209). The council of Epaone, A.D. 517, uses the word *religio* to signify the profession of celibacy (c. 19; see Hefele, ii. 666). It seems, however, to have the monastic sense in Eucherius, who says, "Unus in religionis, alius in sacerdotii nomen ascendit" (ad Valerianum, Patrol. l. 719; cf. Montalembert, i. 142), although Eucherius is supposed to have died not later than 450.

[r] Schröckh, xx. 6.

[s] Thorpe, 307.

[t] Capit. Aquisgr. c. 35.

[u] See a list in Schröckh, xx. 10-11. Spanish councils order that the widows of kings shall not remarry, and shall retire into a nunnery. Conc. Tolet. XIII. A.D. 685, c. 5; Conc. Cæsaraug. III. A.D. 691, c. 5.

[x] Nat. Alex. x. 177; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. V. xli., lxxxiv., seqq.; Annal. i. 328-30; Montalembert, ii. 499.

rous, and more elastic than the other.[y] With slight modifications in particular cases, it was commonly adopted in France, where a great excitement in its favour was produced about the middle of the eighth century by the alleged relics of the founder, which were said to have been translated to Fleury on the Loire about a hundred years before, when the parent monastery of Monte Cassino had been laid waste by the Lombards.[z] In England, too, where the Benedictine rule was introduced by Wilfrid, it soon became general, although not without some mixture of the old national usages.[a] But the Spanish monasteries continued until the ninth century to be governed by rules which had been compiled, partly from eastern sources, by Isidore of Seville, Fructuosus of Braga, and other native bishops.[b]

The monasteries in general continued to be subject to the jurisdiction of their diocesan bishops;[c] but exemptions, of which we have already seen traces in the sixth century,[d] now became more common, and the authority of Gregory the Great had an important share in ad-

[y] Thomass. I. iii. 24-5; D'Achery, n. in Lanfranc. Ep. 32 (Patrol. cl.); Rettb. ii. 679-82.

[z] Acta SS. Mart. 21, p. 297. It is said that in 750, when Monte Cassino had been restored, Pope Zacharias ordered that the relics of St. Benedict should be retranslated to it; but that a bishop and his followers, who were employed to carry out this order, found themselves struck with a sudden blindness, and therefore desisted from their attempt. (Adrevald. de Transl. et Miraculis S. Bened., Patrol. cxxiv.; Mabill. Annal. i. 428; ii. 151.) Charlemagne, in his capitulary of 811, asks, "Utrum aliqui monachi esse possint præter eos qui regulam S. Benedicti observant. Inquirendum etiam, si in Gallia monachi fuissent priusquam traditio regulæ S. Benedicti in has parœchias pervenisset" (Pertz, Leges, i. 166, c. 11): and in another paper, "Qua regula monachi vixissent in Gallia, priusquam regula S. Benedicti in ea tradita fuisset, cum legamus S. Martinum et monachum fuisse, et sub se monachos habuisse, qui multo ante S. Benedicto [*sic*] fuit" (ib. 168, c. 12). These questions prove that in France the systems of the earlier monachism had been superseded by the Benedictine, but the object of them is matter of conjecture.

[a] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 205-6.

[b] Schröckh, xx. 19-35. Isidore is in the Patrol. vol. lxxxiii., Fructuosus in vol. lxxxvii. Valerius, an abbot in the latter part of the seventh century, gives a very unfavourable account of Spanish monachism, ib. 437.

[c] Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 802, c. 15; Thomass. I. iii. 27.

[d] Vol. ii. p. 345.

vancing the practice.[e] It would appear, however, that the reason of such exemptions in this period is not to be sought in any ambition or assumption on the part of the monks, but in the oppressive conduct of bishops.[f] These from the seventh century began to claim a share in the gifts bestowed on monasteries. They exacted unreasonable payments from the monks for the dedication of their churches, for the consecration of chrism, for ordaining their clergy and installing their abbots. A large part of the revenues was absorbed by the expense of visitations; and in addition to this, the bishops extorted heavy fees under the names of *cathedraticum* and the like.[g] Where the choice of an abbot belonged to the monks, the bishops often endeavoured to wrest it from them, and exercised it without any regard to the welfare of the house, or to the pretensions of the more eminent members, who might have reasonably expected to succeed to the headship.[h] The grossness of the tyranny practised by some prelates may be inferred from the fact that the monastic bodies often appealed against it to synods, and that these, although composed of bishops, felt themselves obliged to condemn it in strong terms, and to forbid its continuance.[i] In some cases during the eighth century, it was provided that, if the diocesan bishop would not perform his functions with respect to a monastery on reasonable terms, the abbot

[e] See Giesel. I. ii. 426. It was probably such a privilege that Pope Agatho bestowed on Benedict Biscop, rendering his monastery "ab omni prorsus extrinseca irruptione tutum perpetuo ac liberum." Beda, Vitæ abbatum, 5. See Prof. Stubbs, 'Richard I.', vol. ii. Pref. p. 27.

[f] See, *e.g.*, the behaviour of the bishop Sidonius towards the monks of St. Gall (Ratpert. de Casibus S. Galli, 2, Pertz, ii; Baron. 759. 9-10); and the privilege granted by Pope Adeodatus to the monastery of St. Martin at Tours. Patrol. lxxxvii. 1143.

[g] Planck, ii. 502-3; Guizot, ii. 92-3.

[h] Planck, ii. 503; Lingard, A. S. C i. 209.

[i] *E.g.*, Conc. Tolet IV. A.D. 633, c 51 (which says that bishops treat their monks like slaves); Conc. Tolet. IX A.D. 655, c. 2.

might apply to another.[k] On the whole, it may be said that the exemptions of this period were sought not so much for the sake of emancipation from the rightful authority of the bishops, as for relief from their rapacity. The bishop still retained his general supervision of religion and morals in the exempt monasteries; he was even entitled to inquire into the administration of the temporalities, while he was restrained from acts of plunder and oppression.[l]

When some monasteries had obtained such privileges, it became usual with founders to insist that those which they established should stand on a level with others in this respect.[m] There were, too, certain monasteries which were styled royal—either from having been founded by princes, or from having obtained their special protection; and these were exempt from all jurisdiction except that of the sovereign, which was exercised through the *missi* and the bishops.[n] Some monastic houses, of more than ordinary dignity, had bishops of their own, resident within their walls, as was the case at St. Denys.[o] And in addition to these, it appears that the popes had already commenced a practice of granting exemption from all authority but their own.[p] The first instance is commonly said to have been a grant from Zacharias to the abbey of Fulda; but the genuineness of the document is much questioned.[q] If genuine, it was granted at the request of Boniface himself, and therefore not with an intention to injure the rights of the

[k] Planck, ii. 675-6.

[l] Thomass. I. ii. 28. 5; De Marca, III. xv. 6; Planck, ii. 505-8, 524-9, 539, 540; Rettb. ii. 672-3.

[m] Planck, ii. 510.

[n] Ducange, s. vv. *Monasteria Regalia*; Thomass. I. iii. 35; Planck, ii. 511-12; Rettb. ii. 669.

[o] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. III. xx. See Patrol. lxxxix. 1015; Adrian. I. Ep. 53 (ib. xcvi.); Ducange, s. v. *Episcopus*, p. 62.

[p] Planck, ii. 529-35.

[q] Rettb. ii. 677; Acta SS., Oct. 16, p. 1063; see p. 111. Zacharias is said to have granted a like privilege to Monte Cassino in 748. See Tosti, Storia di Montecass. i. 22, 81. Such exemptions of professedly earlier date are undoubtedly forgeries.

diocesan.[r] But when the archbishoprick and the abbacy which had been united in the apostle of Germany were separated, the privileges conferred on Fulda, and the renown which it acquired as the resting-place of his remains, excited the jealousy of Lull, his successor in the see of Mentz. The archbishop complained that the exemption wrongfully interfered with his jurisdiction. He is said to have persecuted the abbot, Sturmi, by unscrupulous means—even inducing Pipin, by a charge of treason, to banish him for two years; and the enmity between the two continued to the end of the abbot's life, so that, on his death-bed, in declaring his forgiveness of all men, he thought it necessary to mention Lull by name, as being the person who most especially needed it.[s]

Exemptions existed also in the patriarchate of Constantinople, where some monasteries were discharged from the bishop's authority and subject to the metropolitan, while others were subject to the patriarch only. In token of these privileges, the metropolitan or patriarchal crosier was erected over the altar in the chapel of the monastery.[t]

The second council of Nicæa allowed abbots, if they were presbyters, to ordain the lower clergy of their monasteries.[u] The rule was adopted in the west, and from this and other circumstances it came to pass that the inmates of a monastery, instead of being mostly laymen, as in earlier ages, now belonged, with very few exceptions, to some grade of the hierarchy.[x]

The age of admission to the monastic community was

[r] Planck, ii. 536-9.

[s] Vita S. Sturmii, ap. Pertz, ii. 373-7; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iv. 279-84, 400. But according to the biographer of Lull (cc. 20-2), the banishment of Sturmi was caused by some "factious men," and Lull helped towards his recall. (Acta SS. Oct. 16, pp. 1050, 1063 4). Rettberg (i. 610-16) thinks that Lull meant to claim the abbacy as attached to his see, and regarded Sturmi only as a vice-abbot. In the twelfth century, an abbot of Fulda carried his pretensions so high as to claim precedence of the archbishop of Cologne. Arnold. Lubec. iii. 9 (Leibn. Scriptores Rer. Brunsv. ii. 662-3).

[t] Schröckh, xx. 66-7.

[u] Conc. Nic. II. A.D. 787, c. 14.

[x] Planck, ii. 472-3.

variously fixed. The Trullan council lays down that it ought not to be under ten.[y] Theodore of Canterbury names fifteen as the age for monks, and sixteen or seventeen for nuns.[z] The capitularies of 789 re-enact the old African canons which forbade the reception of women before the age of twenty-five, unless for some special reason.[a] But besides those who took the vows on themselves, children might be devoted by their parents to the monastic state; and in this case, as in the other, there was no release from its obligations.[b] Charlemagne, however, endeavoured to put some limit to the practice, by ordering that, "saving the authority of the canons," girls should not be veiled until they were old enough to understand their engagement.[c]

Many orders are found against the admission of serfs into monasteries without the consent of their masters, and of freemen without licence from the sovereign. It was not unusual to make a false profession of withdrawing from the world, for the sake of escaping from military service. In order to check this abuse, Charlemagne orders, in 805, that those who forsake the world shall be obliged to live strictly according to rule, either as canons or as monks.[d]

Although the observance of the same rule was a bond of union between monastic societies, no more intimate connexion was as yet organized in the west. Some of the greater monasteries had *cells* or *priories* dependent on them;[e] but, except on this very limited scale, there was no affiliation of one religious house to another, nor was there any subjection of many to a common head, as had

[y] C. 40.
[z] Capitul. 118 (Hard. iii. 1778).
[a] C. 46.
[b] "Monachos aut paterna devotio aut propria professio facit." Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 49; Rettb. ii. 691, 696. See vol. ii. p. 349.
[c] Capit. A.D. 805, c. 14.
[d] Ib. 10. cf. p. 214.
[e] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VII. xxiv. xxvii.

been the case in the system of St. Pachomius.[f] It was usual for an abbot, in sending forth one of his monks to found a new community, to release him from the vow of obedience so soon as he should be able to establish a footing.[g] During the earlier part of the period, it was forbidden to an abbot to have more than one monastery,[h] although Gregory the Great allowed it in some cases;[i] but this rule was afterwards disregarded. Pluralities, both ecclesiastical and monastic, became frequent, and sometimes both kinds were held by the same person. Thus about the year 720, Hugh, a member of the Carolingian family, was at once bishop of Paris, Rouen, and Bayeux, and abbot of Fontenelle and Jumièges.[k] In the instances where a see was usually filled from a particular monastery, the bishops often united the abbacy with their higher dignity; and where bishops were able to usurp the power of nomination to an abbacy, they sometimes took the office for themselves. In this manner Sidonius, bishop of Constance, who had already got possession of the abbey of Reichenau, resolved in 759 to make himself master also of that of St. Gall; and, although we are told by the monastic historians that his rapacity was punished by a death like that of Arius, the next bishop, John, not only engrossed the same rich preferment, but towards the end of his life formed a scheme of providing for his three nephews by transferring the bishoprick to one of them, and an abbacy to each of the others.[l]

Many of the monastic societies were specially exempted by sovereigns from all public imposts and tolls.[m] But such exemptions were as often tokens of poverty on the

[f] See vol. ii. p. 7. The order of St. Columba, in which the abbot of Iona was the general superior (see vol. ii. p. 324), was an exception to the usual system of the west.

[g] Planck, ii. 494-5.

[h] Conc. Epaon. A.D. 517, c. 9.

[i] Epp. x. 61; xi. 72.

[k] Schröckh, xx. 71.

[l] Ratpert. de Casibus S. Galli, 2-3 (Pertz, ii. 63); Planck, ii. 521.

[m] See, *e.g.*, the charter granted to Corbie by Clotaire III. in 669 (Hard. iii. 1010), and many in Bouquet, t. v.

part of the house as of extraordinary royal favour. Thus in a list of the Frankish monasteries, drawn up at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, where they are ranged in three classes, as owing to the prince both gifts and military service, as owing gifts only, or as free from all duty except prayer, the most distinguished foundations are for the most part included in the most heavily burdened class.[n]

As monasteries grew rich, some evil consequences followed. The vow of poverty was considered to be satisfied by the renunciation of individual property. Where its obligation was felt as matter of conscience, the monks retained their original simplicity of dress and food, while their superfluous wealth was spent on other objects, such as the erection of costly buildings.[o] But very commonly the possession of the means of luxury introduced the enjoyment of it. In the east, the confessor Maximus, in the middle of the seventh century, denounces the disorderly lives of monks, and says that their profession of piety was no better than hypocrisy.[p] Charlemagne in 811 censures the abbots as caring only to swell the numbers of their monks, and to obtain good chanters and readers, without any solicitude as to their morals. He sarcastically asks how the monks and clergy understand the text against entangling themselves with the affairs of this life; whether they suppose the only difference between themselves and secular men to consist in their being unmarried and carrying no arms; whether those can be said to have forsaken the world who are incessantly striving to increase their possessions by all sorts of means—who use the hopes of heaven and the terrors of hell, the names of God and the saints, to extort gifts not only from the rich but from the poor and ignorant, and by diverting property from the lawful heirs drive many to

[n] Pertz, Leges, i. 223; Planck, ii. 516.

[o] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 225.

[p] Dupin, vi. 25.

theft and robbery. How, he continues, can they be said to have forsaken the world who suborn perjury in order to acquire what they covet? or those who retain their secular property, and are surrounded by bands of armed men?[q]

Abbots, as well as bishops, were addicted to war, to hunting and hawking, to games of chance, to the company of minstrels and jesters. There are many ordinances against irregularities of this kind—some of them extending to abbesses also;[r] and there are frequent complaints of gross immorality among recluses of both sexes, with attempts to restrain such practices.[s]

The wealth of monasteries, like that of churches, suffered from the exactions of their advocates, and from alienation to laymen.[t] A remarkable instance of such alienation is recorded as to the abbey of Stablo, in the diocese of Liége, where, in consequence of the conversion of the revenues into a lay "benefice," there were two successions of abbots, the one line being generally made up of the bishops of Liége, while the other consisted of powerful laymen.[u]

Towards the end of the period, a remarkable reformer of the monastic life appeared in France. Witiza, afterwards known as St. Benedict of Aniane, was of Gothic descent, and son of the count of Maguelone in Septimania. When a boy, he was placed in the court of

[q] Pertz, Leges, i. 167-8.

[r] *E.g.*, Capit. A.D. 789, c. 15; Capit. A.D. 802, c. 19; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 17. Some monasteries had a special permission to kill the beasts of the chase, that the flesh might be used for the refection of sick members, and the skins for gloves, girdles, or the binding of books; but in such cases it would seem that the work was to be performed by the lay dependants of the house. See the charters granted by Charlemagne to St. Denys, in 774 (Bouquet, v. 727); and to Sithiu (St. Bertin's, at St. Omer), in 788 (ib. 752).

[s] *E.g.*, Conc. Nic. II. A.D. 787, c. 20; Conc. Trullan. A.D. 691, c. 47; Conc. Arelat. A.D. 813, c. 7; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 802, c. 17.

[t] Giesebrecht, i. 217.

[u] Acta SS., Oct. 28, pp. 715-19. This was not unlike the Irish system already described, p. 11.

Pipin, to whom he became cupbearer, and he continued in the service of Charlemagne. In 774 he accompanied his master to Rome; and on his way homeward he narrowly escaped from drowning in a vain attempt to save his brother, who had rashly plunged into a swollen ford. In gratitude for this preservation, he carried out a thought which he had already for some time entertained, of embracing a monastic life, by entering the monastery of St. Seine, in Burgundy.[x] Although he had assumed the name of Benedict, the rule of the Nursian monk appeared to him fit only for weak beginners,[y] and he rushed into the austerities of eastern monachism. He macerated his body by excessive fasting; his dress was of rags, swarming with vermin, and patched with a variety of colours; he took very little sleep, and that on the bare ground; he never bathed; he courted derision and insult as a madman, and often expressed his fear of hell in piteous outcries; and, although his abbot repeatedly urged him to relent from these severities, Benedict's resolution was inflexible.[z]

On the death of the abbot, Benedict was chosen as his successor; but he fled from St. Seine, and built himself a little hermitage on his father's estate, by the bank of the river Aniane.[a] Some monks who attempted to live with him, found themselves unable to support the excessive severity of his system;[b] but in course of time a considerable society was gathered around him, and a monastery was erected near his cell. Benedict himself took part in the building of it; he and his monks were obliged to carry the materials, as they were unable to provide oxen for the work.[c] The walls were of wood;

[x] Vita ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. v. 192, seqq., c. 1-2. For St. Seine (Sequanus), see Acta SS., Sept. 19.
[y] C. 8.
[z] C. 7.
[a] C. 10.
[b] C. 11.
[c] C. 12.

the roof was thatched with straw · the vestments for divine service were coarse, whereas silk was usually employed for such purposes; the eucharistic vessels were of wood, afterwards of glass, and finally of pewter. The monks lived chiefly on bread and water, varied sometimes by milk, and on Sundays and holy-days by a scanty allowance of wine.[d] If the rigid simplicity of Benedict's first arrangements was partly dictated by fear lest richness of architecture and of ornament should prove injurious to monastic discipline,[e] he must afterwards have changed his opinion on the subject; for in 782 the humble wooden buildings made way for a splendid monastery. The church was adorned with marble pillars; there were several costly chapels; and all that belonged to the furniture and to the services was of unusual magnificence.[f] Charlemagne, who had contributed to the expense, exempted the monastery from all taxes, and from the jurisdiction both of bishops and of counts.[g]

Benedict became a man of great note and influence. His name has already come before us, as one of the commissioners employed by Charlemagne to reclaim the adherents of Felix of Urgel;[h] Lewis the Pious, while king of Aquitaine, employed him to reform the monasteries of that country; and the effect of his institutions was widely felt.[i] He collected into two books the monastic rules of the east and of the west; in a third book he added the rules for nunneries; and from the whole he composed a "Harmony of the Rules," in which the precepts of the earlier St. Benedict on every subject are

[d] C. 14.

[e] This was sometimes matter of complaint. See Mabill. Acta SS., Ben. V. ciii. and the capitulary of 811, c. 11. Funck's idea (Ludwig d. Fromme, 239) that Charlemagne, in his sarcastic questions of that year (quoted above, p. 223), intended to glance at Benedict, seems extremely improbable.

[f] C. 26.

[g] A.D. 787. Bouquet, v. 751; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. v. 202; Patrol. civ. 1419, seqq.

[h] See p. 155.

[i] Vita, 36, 40; Mabill. A. SS. Ben. v. 218.

illustrated by those of other monastic legislators.[k] In his reforms he was content to enforce the Benedictine system, which experience had shown him to be better suited for general use than the rigours of oriental monachism.[l] In his own practice, he was obliged to abate somewhat of the violence with which he had begun; but his life continued to be strictly ascetic, and he shared with his monks in the labours of ploughing, digging, and reaping.[m] Soon after the accession of Lewis to the empire, Benedict resigned the abbacy of Aniane, and removed to a new royal foundation on the bank of the Inda, near Aix-la-Chapelle;[n] and, after having played an important part during the earlier years of his patron's reign, he died at the age of seventy, in 821.[o]

In England, monachism fell into decay from the earlier part of the eighth century.[p] The monasteries were often invaded and occupied by secular persons, and although a canon of Cloveshoo was directed against this evil, the terms which are used significantly prove that the council had little hope of being able to suppress it.[q] Boniface in his letters to Archbishop Cuthbert, and to Ethelbert, king of Mercia, complains that the English monasteries are oppressed beyond any others in Christendom; that their privileges are violated, that they are heavily and unjustly taxed, that they are ruined by the expense of entertaining the king and his hunting train;[r] that the monks are forced to labour at the royal buildings and other works.[s]

[k] 'Concordia Regularum,' printed with his other writings in vol. ciii. of the 'Patrologia.'

[l] Neand. vi. 98.

[m] Vita, 32.

[n] Ib. 48. Charter of Lewis, A.D. 821, Patrol. civ. 1105. It was afterwards called Cornelimünster (see Rettb. i. 548), and the buildings (all of much later date) still remain, although diverted from the original purpose.

[o] Schröckh, xx. 36.

[p] See p. 28.

[q] Conc. Clovesh. A.D. 747, c. 5.

[r] The cost of entertaining sovereigns was also complained of elsewhere. See Ducange, s. v. *Gista*.

[s] Ep. 62 (Patrol. lxxxix. 761). Ep. ad Cudberct. c. 21, ap. Bed. ed.

But much blame is also laid on the communities themselves. The monks are often charged with riotous living and with drunkenness, which Boniface describes as a peculiarly national vice;[t] and the fondness for gay clothing, which was another characteristic of the English, defied all monastic rules. Aldhelm strongly reproves the indulgence of this taste.[u] Boniface complains of it to Cuthbert;[x] the council of Cloveshoo censures it in clergy, in monks, and in nuns, denouncing especially in men the affectation of a laical head-dress, and the fashion of adorning the legs with fillets of various colours;[y] the council of Chalchythe[z] desires monks and canons to use the same habit with those of the continent,[a] "and not dyed with Indian dye, or very costly." But some years later Alcuin is found continuing the complaint against such vanities; and the love of them was not to be overcome.[b]

In addition to the causes which have been mentioned —the secular oppression to which the monks were subjected, and their own unwillingness, when the first period of fervour had passed away, to bear the restraints of the monastic rule—the introduction of the canonical life contributed to the decline of English monachism. The occupants of religious houses became canons instead of monks; and about the middle of the ninth century the Benedictine order was almost extinct in England.[c]

Hussey, 353. This passage does not appear in Dr. Giles' edition of Boniface, or in the Patrologia (Ep. 63), but was edited by Spelman from a MS. Dr. Giles gives it in his 'Anecdota Bedæ, etc.' Lond. 1851, p. 16.

[t] Ep. ad Cudb. 10; Conc. Clovesh. c. 21; Lingard, A. S. C. i, 232-3.

[u] De Laudibus Virginitatis, 58 (Patrol. lxxxix.).

[x] C. 9.

[y] Cc. 19, 28.

[z] A.D. 785, c. 4.

[a] That this is the meaning of *orientales* appears from Can. 19 (see above, p. 85, note i). In a doubtful epistle, Charlemagne is represented as styling himself the most powerful of *eastern*, and Offa the most powerful of *western* kings. Patrol. xcviii. 937.

[b] Epp. 9 (Patrol. c. 151); 14 (ib. 165); 224 (ib. 499); Lingard, A. S. C. i. 232.

[c] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 233-6. So at

The regulations of this period as to female recluses correspond in general character with those for monks. Abbesses are required to be subject to their bishops;[d] they are censured for interfering with the sacerdotal function by presuming to veil virgins, and to give benedictions and imposition of hands to men—apparently by way of ordination to the lower grades of the ministry.[e] There are frequent complaints of dissolute life in nunneries, and the abbesses themselves are sometimes charged with a share of the guilt.[f] Other canons are directed against the practice of allowing widows to take the veil during the first agitation of their bereavement, as it had been found that such nuns often relapsed into worldly business or gaieties, and endeavoured to secure at once the privileges of the monastic and of the secular life.[g]

The Benedictine rule was adapted to the use of female societies; and towards the end of the period the example of Chrodegang's rule led to the institution of canonesses, who lived together under a less rigid code than nuns, and without being obliged to give up their private property.[h]

V. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) Throughout the west, Latin had from the first been used as the language of divine service. As it was spoken in all the western provinces of the empire, there

was at Christchurch, Canterbury, before 813. Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 576.

[d] *E.g.*, Conc. Forojul. A.D. 796 (?), c. 47; Conc. Cabillon. A.D. 813, c. 65.

[e] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 75.

[f] *E.g.*, a capitulary of 789 (Pertz, i. 68, c. 3) forbids nuns to write or to send amatory verses (*winileudos*. See Rettb. i. 452; ii. 695). There are prohibitions of intercourse between monks or clergy and nuns (Rettb. ii. 695). The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, states that many nunneries have become *lupanaria*, and this, in some cases, because the abbesses *starved* their nuns into temptation (cc. 12-13). Abbesses are ordered to take care that there be not many dark corners in their houses, as advantage is taken of them for mischief, c. 14.

[g] Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 817, c. 21; Conc. Wormat. A.D. 829, c. 17 (Pertz, Leges, i. 343); Conc. Paris. A.D. 829, cc. 39, 44.

[h] Mabill. Annal. ii. 359; Rettb. ii. 697-8.

was no necessity for translating the liturgy into other tongues; and after the barbarian conquests Latin remained as the language of superior civilization, and especially as that of the clergy, whose ranks were for a long time generally filled from among the Romanized inhabitants.[1] It was the medium by which nations carried on their official intercourse;[k] it alone remained stable, while the dialects of the invaders were in a course of fluctuation and change; and where new languages were formed on its basis—a process in which the ecclesiastical use of the Latin contributed greatly to secure its predominance—the formation was gradual, so that it would have been impossible to fix on any time at which th ancient Roman tongue should have been disused as obsolete.[l] The closer connexion established with Rome by Pipin and Charlemagne confirmed the use of Latin in the Frankish church. And thus an usage which originally arose out of circumstances, came at length to be regarded as necessary, and at a later time to be justified by theoretical argument,[m] although confessedly as contrary to the practice of the early church[n] as it appears to be to reason. Charlemagne, however, notwithstanding his attachment to the Roman ritual, combated the growing opinion on this point. "Let no one," it is said in his capitulary at the council of Frankfort, "suppose that God may not be prayed to except in three languages;

[i] Hist. Litt. iii. 15; Neand. v. 174-5.

[k] Milman, vi. 258.

[l] Schmidt, i. 183; Milman, i. 377; ii. 351. On the gradual corruption of Latin, see Ducange's Preface to his Glossary; Hist. Litt. i. 27, seqq.; Hallam, M. A. ii. 340-51.

[m] Neand. v. 175. Fleury (Disc. ii. 23) and Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. i. 308) allege in favour of Latin service that, but for the necessity of learning the language for this purpose, the clergy of the dark ages would have altogether neglected it, and consequently would have allowed the remains both of pagan and of Christian antiquity to perish. But this argument from a supposed result, whatever it may be worth in itself, has obviously nothing to do with the justification of using an unknown tongue in service—much less of retaining it when the dark ages were at an end.

[n] Martene, i. 101.

forasmuch as in every tongue God is worshipped, and man is heard if he ask the things which are right."[o]

The chanting was now left to the choir, and the people joined only in the *Kyrie eleëson*.[p] But Charlemagne and others were careful that preaching—which by means of missions regained an importance which it had once appeared likely to lose—should be frequent, and in the vulgar tongue.[q] His measures for the instruction of the people in the creed and in the Lord's prayer have been noticed in a former chapter.[r]

In England, Latin was employed as the ritual language, not only by Augustine and his followers, but by the Scottish and Irish teachers, who had been accustomed to it in their native churches.[s] The epistle and gospel, however, were read in the vernacular tongue, and in it sermons were delivered.[t] The Scottish or Irish liturgy was suppressed by the council of Cloveshoo in those parts of southern England where it had before been used;[u] but, notwithstanding the influence of Wilfrid, it kept possession of the church of York until the time of Alcuin,

[o] Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 52. M. Guizot supposes (ii. 226) that the languages meant are Greek, Latin, and *German*. But the very thing which is condemned is the prejudice against the use of German: the three languages were evidently those written over the cross, as appears further from the words of John VIII. in sanctioning the Slavonic liturgy—"Qui fecit tres linguas principales, Hebræam, scilicet, Græcam, et Latinam, ipse creavit et alias omnes ad laudem et gloriam suam" (Ep. 107, ap. Hard. vi. 86). The legend of St. Ludmilla, in relating the same matter, tells us, "Erant qui blasphemabant Slovenicas litteras, loquentes — 'Dedecet ullum populum habere libros hos, nisi Hebraicos, Græcos, Latinosque, secundum titulum Pilati'—quos papa Pilaticos asseclas et trilingues nominans damnavit." c. 6, ap. Ginzel, Anh. 25.

[p] Giesel. ii. 279; Rettb. ii. 779. There is a curious passage in the 27th canon of Cloveshoo, as to those who sing without understanding the words—exhorting them to suit their own thoughts and desires to them. See Johnson's note, i. 259.

[q] Conc. Arel. A.D. 813, c. 10, etc. Rettberg, ii. 772-4. See above, p. 146. Such sermons of the time as remain are Latin; but they were either the originals or translations of the German or "rustic Roman," which was preached to the people. Rettb. i. 775-7.

[r] See p. 145.

[s] Johnson, I. xiii.-xiv.; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 302.

[t] Ib. 307-8.

[u] Cc. 13, 15 (A.D. 747).

who is found recommending that it should be abandoned.[x] It would, however, seem that, in the adaptation of the Roman ritual for England, some use was made of that license of selection from other formularies which had been granted by Gregory to Augustine.[y]

In the east, Greek had been the usual language of the church, and continued to be so under the Mahometan rule, where Arabic was used for the ordinary business of life. The monophysites of Egypt, however, employed the Coptic in their service, and the Nestorians the Syriac.[z]

(2.) The use of organs was now brought into the service of the Latin church. The earliest mention of such instruments (as distinguished from the ancient hydraulic organ, of which the invention is by some ascribed to Archimedes[a]) is perhaps in a passage of St. Augustine.[b] Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers about the year 600, compares the voices of boys and men in a choir to the smaller and the larger pipes of an organ respectively,[c] but does not speak of the instrument itself as used in churches; so that his words are not inconsistent with the opinion which ascribes the introduction of organs into churches to Pope Vitalian (A.D. 657-672).[d] It appears from the testimony of Aldhelm that they were known in England at the beginning of the eighth century;[e] but it would seem that, after the age of

[x] Ep. 171, ad Symeonem.

[y] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 294-5. (See above, vol. ii. p. 391.)

[z] Fleury, Disc. ii. 7.

[a] Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 38; Tertull. de Anima, 14; Claudian. de Consul. Mall. Theod. 315. See Ducange, s. v. *Organum;* Augusti, xi. 423, seqq; Herzog, art. *Orgel.*

[b] Enar. in Psalm. lvi. 16; cf. Isid. Hispal Etymol. ii. 21.

[c] "Hic puer exiguis attemperat organa cannis
Inde senex largam ructat ab ore tubam."
Miscellanea, ii. 13 (Patrol. lxxxviii.). This seems to be the passage to which M. de Montalembert refers (ii. 291) as proving that the church of St. Germain-des-Prés, at Paris, had an organ in the time of Venantius; but it will be seen that such a construction is a mistake.

[d] "Ut quidam volunt." Platina, 96. See Acta SS. Jan. 27, p. 394; Hopkins and Rimbault on the Organ, 17 (Lond. 1870).

[e] Aldh. de Laudibus Virginit. (Patrol. lxxxix. 240); Turner, Hist.

Venantius, the organ had again become a novelty to the Franks when one was sent by Constantine Copronymus as a present to Pipin in 757.[f] The St. Gall biographer of Charlemagne tells us that a similar instrument, "emulating at once the roar of thunder and the sweetness of the lyre," which was brought by some Greek ambassadors to the great emperor, excited the imitative talent of the Franks.[g] Under Lewis the Pious, a Venetian priest named George was employed by the emperor to build an organ at Aix-la-Chapelle, and is said to have performed his task "with marvellous skill"; but it would seem that the instrument was of the hydraulic kind.[h] So skilful, however, did the Franks become in the manufacture of organs, that about a century after the date of Constantine's gift to Pipin, Pope John VIII. is found requesting a bishop of Freising to send him one, with a person skilful in the use of it, because the organs of the north were superior to any that could be made in Italy.[i] Some of the great organs of those days must have been very formidable instruments, if we may take literally the poetical description of one which was erected in Winchester cathedral by Bishop Alphege (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), in the end of the tenth century; for it is said to have been blown by twenty-six pairs of

Anglos. iii. 457-8; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 375-6.

[f] Einhard, A.D. 757. See Murat. Antiq. Ital., ii. 356-8. The author of the article *Organ* in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (xvi. 709) supposes that the word *organa* here may mean "various musical instruments." But there is no ground for seeking so to explain it, more especially as the best MSS., according to Pertz, read "organ*um*."

[g] Mon. Sangall. ii. 10.

[h] "In Aquensi palatio organum, quod Græce hydraulica vocatur, mirifica art composuit." Einhard. Hist. Transl. SS. Marcellini, etc., 75; Cf. Annal. A.D. 826 (Patrol. civ.); Walaf. Strabo, Versus in Aquisgr. Palatio, ib. cxiv. 1092.

[i] A.D. 873. Joh. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cxxvi.). Baldric, archbishop of Dol in the beginning of the twelfth century, mentions with admiration an organ at Fécamp as the first which he had seen, although he had travelled widely in France, and had visited England. Itinerarium, 7 (Patrol. clxvi.).

bellows, which required the hard labour of seventy men to work them.[k]

(3.) To this period also is ascribed the introduction of church bells.[l] The belief which was long current, that they were invented by St. Paulinus of Nola in the end of the fourth century, is without historical support, and rests only on a mistaken etymology.[m] According to some writers, they were first used in churches by Sabinian, the successor of Gregory the Great in the see of Rome;[n] but in any case it is certain that in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries the use of them spread widely throughout France and other countries. Bells are familiarly mentioned by Bede,[o] and in St. Boniface's letters.[p] Under Charlemagne, we find the legendary St. Gall biographer relating that a monk of his own community, named Tancho, having received a commission from the emperor for a great bell, substituted tin for silver in the composition of the metal, and was punished for his fraud by a miraculous death;[q] and in the capitulary of 789 there is a prohibition of the baptism of bells[r]—a superstition which was afterwards carried further, by conferring baptismal names on them, and furnishing them with sponsors.[s]

(4.) The history of the eucharistic doctrine during this period has been disputed with as much zeal and partiality

[k] "Bis seni supra sociantur in ordine folles,
Inferiusque jacent quatuor atque decem.
Flatibus alternis spiracula maxima reddunt,
Quos agitant validi septuaginta viri,
Brachia versantes, multo et sudore madentes," etc.

Wolstan. Prolog. in Vit. S. Swithuni (Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. Sæc. v. p. 617, ed. Venet.).

[l] The materials of this paragraph are derived from Augusti, xi. 413, seqq., and Herzog, art. *Glocken*—of course not without reference to the authorities cited by these writers.

[m] It was supposed that they had the names of *nola* and *campana* from the city of Nola and the province of Campania. See Walafr. Strabo, De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, 5 (Patrol. cxiv.).

[n] Polyd. Vergil. de Rerum Inventoribus, vi. 12 (p. 535, ed. Basil. 1570).

[o] "Notum campanæ sonum," iv. 23, p. 226, ed. Hussey.

[p] There is, however, a difference of reading—"donum unum" for "cloccam unam"—in Ep. 37 (Patrol. lxxxix.).

[q] i. 31.

[r] Capit. Generale, c. 18.

[s] Augusti, x. 208; xi. 421.

as if the question between modern Rome and its opponents depended on the opinions of the seventh and eighth centuries. The word *figure*, when it occurs, is hailed by one party, and such words as *body*, *blood*, or *changed*, by the other, as if they were sufficient to determine the matter. But the truth seems to lie between the extremes. Both in language and in opinion there was a progress towards the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the feeling of individuals may have closely bordered on it; but there was no acknowledgment, nor apparently even any assertion, of more than an effective grace, by which the consecrated elements, while retaining their original substance, convey to the faithful receiver the benefits of the Saviour's death. Some passages of Bede and of Alcuin, for example, which are produced by Romanists as favourable to their views,[t] appear really to maintain nothing beyond the doctrine of the English Reformation. Thus, when Alcuin speaks of a bishop as consecrating bread and wine into the *substance* of our Lord's body and blood,[u] it would seem that by "substance" he does not mean anything material; that he does not even use the word in the scholastic sense, as denoting that by which a thing is what it is, but that he intends only a virtual efficacy. And after this, the Caroline Books, in which Alcuin himself is supposed to have been largely concerned, express themselves in a manner entirely accordant with our own eucharistic doctrine.[x]

John of Damascus appears to have gone further than any of the western teachers. He rejects the term "figure," as unauthorized by Scripture, and declares the consecrated elements to be "the very deified body of the Lord."[y]

[t] See Schröckh, xx. 164-5.

[u] Ep. 36, p. 49. Dr. Lingard, however, quotes the words as conclusive in favour of transubstantiation. A. S. C. ii. 465.

[x] *E.g.*, ii. 27 (pp. 274-8, ed. Goldast.); iv. 14 (pp. 419-20). The words which Dr. Lingard quotes from the latter passage (A. S. C. ii. 464) do not warrant his inference from them.

[y] De Fid. Orthod. iv. 12 (t. i. 271).

Yet the sense of this startling expression may be reduced by a comparison with the language then current as to the union of our Lord's natures or wills—where it was said that the flesh or the human will was "deified" by its connexion with the Godhead.[z] If the meaning were more than this parallel would warrant—if John intended to maintain that the material elements were changed, instead of being united with something higher—it is certain that the eastern church did not adopt his view.[a] The eucharist was mentioned in the controversy as to images by the hostile synods of Constantinople and Nicæa. The iconoclastic assembly declares that the only true image of the Saviour is the eucharist—meaning that the union of the Divine grace with the earthly elements represents that union of Godhead and manhood in his person which images failed to convey, inasmuch as they could only set forth the humanity. The Nicene council, in answering this, finds fault with the term *image*, as being one which no father had applied to that which is His body and blood.[b] Yet no objection is made to the substance of the comparison; nor do we find anywhere in this controversy the distinction which must have occurred if the modern Roman doctrine as to the sacrament had been then received—that the consecrated elements are unlike images, forasmuch as they are not a representation, but are really Christ Himself.[c]

[z] *E. g.*, in the sixth general council it is said that the human flesh and will are "deified, not destroyed." (See vol. ii. p. 437.) See too l. iii. c. 17, of Damascene's own work, where he explains how Christ's flesh can be said to be "deified"—that it is not by any change or confusion, but merely by union, the two natures remaining entire and distinct. I have, however, some doubt as to the possibility of clearing the passage in the text by this parallel. There would be no difficulty if he had said that the bread and wine are deified; but instead of this he says that they *are* the deified *body*. See as to him, Steitz, in Herzog, xvi. 309.

[a] Schröckh, xx. 174.

[b] Hard. iv. 368-72. That this assertion was incorrect, see Schröckh, xx. 161-3.

[c] Schröckh, xx. 592 (from Rössler's Bibliothek d. Kirchenväter). During this period there are many tales of miracles in which the consecrated host

Instead of the common bread in which the eucharist had originally been administered, wafers were now substituted in the west. They were of very fine flour, unleavened, round in shape, and stamped with an instrument.[d] The communion of infants appears to have been still in use,[e] and many superstitions were practised with the consecrated bread—such as giving it to the dead and burying it with them.[f] The cup continued until the twelfth century to be administered to all communicants.[g]

The height to which the idea of a sacrifice in the eucharist was carried (an idea which appears in the earliest ages of the church, although with some indefiniteness of meaning),[h] now led to some important consequences. The sacrifice was supposed to avail not only for those who were present but for the absent; for the dead as well as for the living. One result of this was, that the obligation of receiving the sacrament was less felt, so that there is much complaint as to the rarity of communion, and that canons are passed for restoring the three receptions yearly which had been prescribed by the council of Agde.[i] At length masses came to be celebrated privately, and by the priest alone.[k] This practice was

is said to have shed blood (*e. g.*, Greg. Turon. vi. 21, and frequent instances in Gregory the Great). These might be supposed evidence of a belief in transubstantiation; but we find also in Gregory the Great (Ep. iv. 30) a story of a cloth which, having been applied to the body of a saint, shed blood on being cut. This cannot mean that the cloth had been changed into the saint's body, but only that the virtue of the body had been communicated to it; and the explanation will serve for the other cases.

[d] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. III. xxxv.-xl., xlv. seqq.; Analecta, 538, seqq.; Rettb. ii. 786-7.

[e] Schröckh, xx. 175. For its continuance into the twelfth century, see D'Achery, n. in Guib. Novigent. (Patrol. clvi. 1023). Compare Lanfranc, Ep. 33 (ib. cl.). See, however, Waterland, vi. 67, ed. Oxf. 1843; and vol. i. p. 233.

[f] This is forbidden by Conc. Trull. A.D. 691, c. 83.

[g] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. III. liii.-lv.

[h] See Blunt on the 'Use of the Early Fathers,' ser. ii. lect. 12.

[i] A.D. 506. See vol. ii. p. 362. Comp. Bed. Ep. ad Egbert. 9; Conc. Turon. A.D. 813, c. 50, etc.

[k] Schröckh, xx. 176-80; Rettb. ii. 785; Giesel. II. i. 156.

forbidden by Theodulf of Orleans;[1] it is censured, although not in absolute terms, by the council of Mentz in 813,[m] is more decidedly condemned by the sixth council of Paris, in 829,[n] and in the following century is again forbidden by Atto, bishop of Vercelli.[o]

(5.) From the time of Gregory the Great, the doctrine of Purgatory spread and was developed. In the English church, the offspring of Gregory's own exertions, it appears to have especially taken root. Bede relates stories of persons who had been transported in vision to the regions of the dead; they returned to consciousness with a sad and awestruck air, told their tale, and soon after died. Thus Fursey[p] and Drithelm[q] were permitted to see the punishments of hell and purgatory, and the bliss of the righteous who were awaiting their consummation in paradise. The vision of Drithelm was versified by Alcuin; other narratives of the same kind appeared; the idea of such visions became familiar to men's minds; and, six centuries later, the dreams of the obscure Irish or Northumbrian monks issued in the great poem of the middle ages.[r]

With the belief in purgatory, that in the utility of the masses for the departed advanced. Fraternities were formed, especially among monks, with the obligation to say a certain number of masses for the soul of every brother at his death, and on the anniversary of it, or to

[1] Capit. 7, ap. Hard. iv 914.

[m] "Ut nobis videtur" c. 43.

[n] C. 48. The capitulary of 789 forbids another irregularity—consecration without the priest's communicating. c. 6.

[o] Capit. 7 (Patrol. cxxxiv. 30).

[p] Bed. iii. 19; Acta SS, Jan. 16. See Southey, 'Vindiciæ,' letter iv.

[q] Bed. v. 12. Other stories are in the chapters 13-14; and some of a similar kind are told by the Spanish abbot Valerius, in the end of the seventh century (Patrol. lxxxvii. 431-6). See too the chronicle of Monte Cassino, iv. 66 (Pertz, vii., or Patrol. clxxiii.).

[r] Palgrave, Norm. and England, i. 72; Ampère, ii. 365; iii. 121-2. The vision of Wettin (see p. 108), in the ninth century, marks, as M. Ampère observes, an important step in the progress towards Dante—the introduction of political matter into such narratives, and the employment of them as vehicles of personal reproof.

provide for the purchase of them by a payment which in England was called *soulscot*.[s] The performance of these masses became an important source of income to the clergy.[t] It is recognized as such by Chrodegang's rule; and for this purpose additional altars were erected in churches which before had only one.[u] Masses were also used in order to obtain temporal benefits, such as fair weather or seasonable rain.[x]

(6.) A greater strictness in the observance of the Lord's-day had gradually been introduced into the church,[y] and occupations which councils of the sixth century had vindicated against a judaizing tendency,[z] were now forbidden as contrary to the sanctity of the day, which it became usual to ground on the fourth commandment.[a] Many canons throughout this period, and shortly after, enact that it should be kept by a cessation from all trade, husbandry, or other manual labour. No law-courts or markets may be held, men are to refrain from hunting, women must not sew, embroider, weave, card wool, beat flax, shear sheep, or publicly wash clothes.[b] No journeys were to be taken except such as were unavoidable; and these were to be so managed as not to interfere with the duty of attending the church-service.[c] The Penitential ascribed to Theodore of Canterbury states that the Greeks and the Latins agree in doing

[s] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. III. lxxxvi. eqq.; Ducange, s. v. *Fraternitas* (3); Soames, A. S. C. 282; Rettb. ii. 788-9.

[t] C. 32; see Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. III. xliii.

[u] Ib. lv.-lvi.

[x] Schröckh, xx. 182; Rettb. ii. 788.

[y] See vol. i. p. 238; vol. ii. p. 54.

[z] *E.g.*, Conc. Aurel. III. A.D. 538, c. 28.

[a] See Hessey's Bampton Lectures, ed. 1, 116, seqq.

[b] Conc. Matisc. A.D. 585, c. 1, Conc. Narbonn. A.D. 589, c. 4; Greg. Ep. ix. 1; Conc. Cabill. I. A.D. 650, c. 18; Conc. Clovesh A.D. 747 (?), c. 14; Capit. A.D. 789, c. 80; Conc. Foroj A.D. 796 (?), c. 13; Theodulph. Cap. 24 (Hard. iv. 917); Conc. Arel A.D. 813, c. 16; Conc. Cabill. A.D. 813, c. 50; Conc. Mogunt A.D. 813, c. 37; Laws of Northumbrian Priests, in Thorpe, 421, No. 55, etc.

[c] The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, suggests that marriages should not be celebrated on Sunday, iii. 18.

no work on Sunday; that they do not sail, ride, drive except to church, hawk, or bathe; that the Greeks do not write in public, although at home they write according to their convenience.[d] Penalties were enacted against such as should violate the sanctity of the day. Thus the council of Narbonne, in 589, condemns a freeman to pay six *solidi*, and a serf to receive a hundred lashes.[e] Ina, king of Wessex (A.D. 688-725), directs that, if a serf work on the Lord's-day by his master's order, he shall be free; if at his own will, he shall pay a fine or shall "suffer in his hide."[f] The council of Berghamstead (A.D. 696), enacts that a freeman breaking the rest of the day shall undergo the *healsfang*,[g] and imposes a heavy fine on any master who shall make his servant work between the sunset of Saturday and that of Sunday.[h] The authority of pretended revelations was called in to enforce the observance of the Lord's-day. It appears that this was the object of a letter which was said to have fallen from heaven in 788, and of which Charlemagne, in his capitulary of the following year, orders the suppression;[i] and the same pious fraud, or something of the same kind, was employed in England.[k] Under Lewis the Pious, councils are found speaking of judgments by which persons had been punished for working on the Lord's-day—some had been struck by lightning, some lamed in their members, some reduced to ashes by visible fire. The clergy, the nobles, and the emperor himself, are desired to show a good example by a right observance of the day.[l]

[d] Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 196. [e] C. 4.

[f] C. 3, in Thorpe, 45: Comp. Laws of Edward and Guthrun, c. 7, ib. 73.

[g] '*Healsfang*'—*i. e.* a *neck-catch*—properly a sort of pillory; but as this was very early disused, the word came to mean a fine or pecuniary commutation for the ignominy, graduated according to the offender's rank. See Thorpe, Glossary to Ancient Laws and Institutes.

[h] C. 10-12 (Thorpe, 17). The place of this council is supposed to have been Berstead, near Maidstone.

[i] Capit. 77. See p. 74, n. [d]; Mabill. Annal. ii. 493.

[k] Soames, A. S. C. 257.

[l] Conc. Paris. VI. A.D. 829, i. 50; iii. 19; Conc. Wormat. A.D. 829, c. 11 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

But notwithstanding the increased severity as to the Lord's-day, the idea of identifying it with the Jewish sabbath was condemned. Gregory the Great speaks of this as a doctrine of Antichrist, who, he says, will require the observance of both days—of the Sabbath for the sake of Judaism; of the Lord's-day, because he will pretend to rival the Saviour's resurrection. Gregory goes on to notice the scruples of some who held that it was wrong to wash the body on the Lord's-day. It is allowed, he says, for necessity, although not for luxury, alike on this and on other days, and he adds a curious attempt at scriptural proof.[m] The councils of Lestines and Verne censure an extreme rigour in the observance of the day, as "belonging rather to Jewish superstition than to Christian duty."[n]

The Lord's-day was commonly considered to begin on Saturday evening, and to reach to the corresponding hour on Sunday.[o] Such, as we have seen, was the length of the labourer's rest in England at the time of the council of Berghamstead (A.D. 696); but by the middle of the tenth century it was extended, and reached from nones (3 P.M.) on Saturday to the dawn of Monday.[p]

(7.) The festival of All Saints (which was intended to make up for the defects in the celebration of saints individually[q]) has been generally connected with the beginning of this period, when Boniface IV. obtained a grant of the Pantheon at Rome from Phocas, and consecrated it as the church of St. Mary *ad Martyres* in 609.[r] It would, however, appear that a festival of martyrs,

[m] Ep. xiii. 1.

[n] Conc. Liptin. A.D. 743 (Hard. iii. 1924-6); Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, c. 14 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

[o] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 15 (Pertz, Leges, i. 57); Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 21.

[p] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 310-11.

[q] Pseudo-Alcuinus de Div. Officiis, 31 (Patrol. ci.).

[r] "Ut exclusa multitudine dæmonum, multitudo ibi sanctorum memoriam haberet."—Beda, ii. 4. Anastas. 135; Baron. 607. 1; Gregorov. ii. 114-20. The year is not quite certain. See Acta SS., Mai. 25, p. 75; Aug. 25, pp. 541-2.

on May 13, which arose out of the consecration of the Pantheon, has been confounded with All Saints' day (Nov. 1), and that the latter was not observed at Rome until the eighth century.[s] It was raised to the first class of festivals, and was recommended for general celebration, by Gregory IV. in 835.[t] In the east, the Sunday after Whitsunday had been connected with the memory of all saints as early as the time of St. Chrysostom.[u]

The growing reverence for the blessed Virgin led to an increase of festivals dedicated to her. The "Presentation in the Temple" became the "Purification of St. Mary." Her Nativity (Sept. 8) was already celebrated both in the east and in the west,[x] and her own "Presentation" (*i.e.* her supposed dedication to the service of the temple) was established as a festival in the Greek church (Nov. 21), although it was not adopted in the west until the fourteenth century.[y] In Spain, the appearance vouchsafed to Ildefonso of Toledo led to the institution of the "Expectation of St. Mary" (Dec. 18).[z] The Assumption (Aug. 15) was also now introduced. In the silence o Scripture as to the blessed Virgin's death, legends on the subject had arisen. At the time of the council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), she was supposed to have spent her last years with St. John in that city, and to have been interred in the church where the council met. But afterwards it came to be believed that she had been buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and thence had been caught up to

[s] Giesel. II. i. 160-1. See Beleth, Rationale, 127 (Patrol. ccii.); Martene, i. 215. Augusti seems to be wrong in supposing that the festivals are the same, and that the celebration was transferred from May to November by Gregory III. iii. 272-3.

[t] Gavanti, Thes. Sac. Rituum, ii. 243, ed. Aug. Vindel. 1763; Martene, iii. 215. See Durand. Rationale, vii. 33.

[u] Augusti, iii. 271; Giesel. I. c.

[x] Martene, iii. 111; Augusti, iii. 105.

[y] Martene, iii. 217; Augusti, iii. 107.

[z] See above, p. 5; Pseudo-Liutprand. Chron. A.D. 657 (Patrol. cxxxvi. 1019); Baron. 657. 56, and Pagi, 509; Martene, i 199.

heaven. From this tale, which originated in a conjecture of Epiphanius that she never died,[a] and was afterwards supported by sermons falsely ascribed to Jerome and Augustine, the festival of the Assumption took its rise.[b] In one of the capitularies it is mentioned as a subject for inquiry;[c] but the observance of it is sanctioned by the council of Mentz, in 813.[d] The other festivals named in the same canon are—Easter with the week following, Ascension-day, Whitsunday and the week after it, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Michael, St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew, four days at Christmas, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, and the Purification; with the dedication of each church, and the feasts of the martyrs and confessors whose relics are preserved in the diocese or parish.[e] This last provision contained the germ of a great multiplication of festivals, which naturally ensued as saints of local fame became

[a] Hær. lxxviii. 11.

[b] Giesel. II. i. 157-60; vi. 557-8. Gregory of Tours is supposed to be the oldest authority for the Assumption (De Gloria Martyrum, i. 4; Augusti, iii. 113). Arculf, a pilgrim to Jerusalem in the end of the seventh century, says that the Virgin was buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat, but that how or by whom her body was removed, and in what place she awaits the resurrection, no man knoweth (Adamnan. de Locis sanctis, 13; Patrol. lxxxviii.). In the eighth century Willibald, an English pilgrim (or his biographer), says that she died in Jerusalem, and that angels carried her away out of the hands of the apostles to Paradise (Willib. Peregrinatio, c. 8, ap. Canis. ii. 112; cf. Andr. Cretens. in Dormitionem S. Mar., Patrol. Gr. xcvii. 1057; Bernardi Monachi Itinerarium, A.D. 870, Patrol. Lat. cxxi. 572). Beleth, in the end of the twelfth century, says that his contemporary Elizabeth of Schönau (for whom see hereafter, Book VI. c. xii.) professed to have been informed in a vision that the Virgin's body was "assumed" forty days after the "assumption" of her soul; but that a tract which Elizabeth wrote on the subject had not received the sanction of Rome. (Rationale, 146, Patrol. ccii.) It may be noted that the term *assumptio* is used of the death of saints, without implying anything miraculous. See Ducange, s. v.

[c] "Interrogandum relinquimus." (Ansegis. Capitul. i. 158, ed. Baluze, i. 732.) The date is probably 809 (Piper, 'Karls des Grossen Kalendarium,' 70, Berlin, 1858). The Assumption is in Charlemagne's Calendar of 781. Ib. 27.

[d] C. 36.

[e] "Parochia." See an English list in Alfred's Laws, c. 43 (Thorpe, 40-1). There is much information on these matters in Piper's pamphlet, cited above.

more generally celebrated, and as their relics became more widely dispersed.[f]

The council of Mentz also sanctions the celebration of the Ember-weeks,[g] which was now generally established.

(8.) The superstitions connected with an excess of reverence for saints were continually on the increase. Stories of visions in which saints appeared, and of miracles performed by them, are found in immense profusion—so great, indeed, that even some contemporaries began to murmur. Thus we are told by the biographer of St. Hildulf, abbot of Moyen-Moutier, in the Vosges,[h] who died in 707, that the death of one of his monks named Spinulus was followed by a number of miracles. Three mineral springs burst forth in the abbey garden, and crowds of people were attracted to the place. Hildulf understood the advantages which his house was likely to derive from the offerings of pilgrims ; but he feared that the monks might be drawn away from their proper work to attend to earthly business. He therefore knelt down at the tomb of Spinulus, and, after having thanked God for the assurance of his brother's beatification, charged the deceased monk, by the obedience which he had owed him while alive, to save the society from the threatened danger. Spinulus complied ; the springs dried up, and the miracles ceased.[i] Other stories might be produced, which show that some persons felt the general craving after miracles to be unwholesome in its effects, even where they did not venture to question the reality of the wonders which were reported.[k]

Schröckh, xx. 140.

[g] C. 34.

[h] He is said by some writers (*e. g.*, Vita, c. 3, Patrol. cli. ; Acta SS., Jul. 11, pp. 211, 216 ; D'Achery, Spicilegium, ii. 607), to have held the archbishoprick of Treves before retiring to this monastery ; but the authorities are too late, and this is a mistake. Rettb. ii. 467-9, 523. See Mabill. Annal. i. 487-97 ; Acta SS., l. c.

[i] Vita Hildulphi, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iv. 478-9.

[k] See Mabill. ib. III. lxxxviii. ; Schröckh, xx. 116-17. Amulo, bishop of Lyons about the middle of the ninth

The passion for relics was more and more developed. The second council of Nicæa orders that no church should be consecrated without some relics, and imputes a disregard of them to the opponents of images;[1] but these, as we have seen,[m] were eager to relieve themselves of the odium. Relics of our Lord and his virgin mother, the most precious class of all, were multiplied. The seamless coat and the napkin which had bound the Saviour's head in the sepulchre were each supposed to be preserved in more than one place.[n] Among the treasures of the monastery of Centulles,[o] under abbot Angilbert, who died in 801, were fragments of the manger in which our Lord was laid, of the candle lighted at his birth, of his vesture and sandals, of the rock on which he sat when he fed the five thousand, of the wood of the three tabernacles, of the bread which he gave to his disciples, of the cross, and of the sponge; with portions of the blessed Virgin's milk, of her hair, her dress, and her cloak.[p] In honour of the cross were instituted festivals of its Invention and Exaltation.[q]

Other relics were also diligently sought for, and were highly prized. Not only are saints said to have appeared, as in former ages, for the purpose of pointing out the resting-places of their remains,[r] but it was believed that

century, speaks of pretended miracles, and of impostures practised by pretended demoniacs. Ep. i., Patrol. cxvi.

[1] C. 7.

[m] See p. 146.

[n] Schröckh, xx. 121-4. Augusti (x. 149) quotes from Heidegger de Peregrinat. Relig., a curious list of multiplied relics connected with our Lord.

[o] This monastery, near Abbeville, afterwards took the name of its founder, St. Riquier.

[p] Vita S. Angilberti, c. 9, ap. Mabill. v. 113-14; Acta SS., Feb. 18, p. 105; Chron. Centull. ii. 5 (Patrol clxxiv.). See D'Achery, n. in Guib. Novig. Patrol. clvi. 1044; Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 8-14.

[q] Schröckh, xx. 120. See vol. ii. p. 410.

[r] Thus Pope Paschal I. (A.D. 817-24) states that one day when he had fallen asleep during the psalmody before St. Peter's tomb, St. Cecilia appeared to him, assuring him that, although the Lombards under Aistulf had sought for her body, the vulgar belief of their having found it was quite incorrect, and that the discovery was reserved for him. The body was found accordingly

sometimes, in answer to earnest prayer, relics were sent down from heaven.[s] A great impulse was given to this kind of superstition when, on the approach of the Lombards to Rome in 761, Pope Paul removed the bodies of saints from their tombs outside the city to churches within the walls.[t] The Frankish records of the time abound in accounts of the translation of relics to various places in France, and of the solemnities with which they were received.[u] The mere connexion with Rome was supposed to confer a sanctity and a miraculous power. Thus it is related that Odo, duke of Aquitaine, a contemporary of Charles Martel, having got possession of three sponges which had been used in wiping the pope's table, divided them into little morsels, which he caused his soldiers to swallow before a battle; that no one of those who had

among the papal graves in the cemetery of St. Callistus, and was translated to the church of St. Cecilia in the Trastevere. Paschal, Ep. i. (Patrol. cii.); comp. Anastas. 216; Acta SS., Mai. 14, pp. 396-7; De Rossi, Roma Sotterr. i. 257; ii. 113, seqq.; Reumont, i. 573.

[s] Schröckh, xx. 125.

[t] Anastas. 173.

[u] In answer to the archchaplain Fulrad, who had asked for the body of a saint, Pope Adrian says that he had been deterred by revelations from disturbing any more bodies, but informs him where one which had formerly been granted might perhaps be obtained (Bouquet, v. 560). Among Einhard's works (ii. 176-377, ed. Teulet., or Acta SS., Mai. 2) is a tract on the translation of two saints named Marcellinus and Peter (A.D. 829), which gives a very curious view of the practices of relic-hunters and of the superstitions connected with the veneration of relics. Einhard's agents stole the bodies by night from a church at Rome —an act which appears to have been regarded as quite lawful in such cases. (See vol. ii. p. 62.) Of the miracles which followed, one specimen may be given. A deacon, who was charged to convey a portion of the relics as a present from Einhard to a monastery, stopped to feed his horses in a meadow. Forthwith the occupier of the land appeared—a hunchback, whose face was swollen by violent toothache—armed with a pitchfork, and beside himself with rage on account of the trespass. In answer to his outcries, the deacon told him that he would do better to kneel down before the relics, and pray for the cure of his toothache. The man laid down his pitchfork, and obeyed; and when he rose up after a few minutes, his face was reduced to its natural size, and he was freed not only from his toothache but from his deformity (pp. 328-30). St. Willibrord dealt more severely with a churl who remonstrated against a similar trespass. He deprived him of the power of drinking, and the offender suffered horribly until the saint, on revisiting the place after a year, released him. Vita S. Willibr. in Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. iii. 612-13.

partaken was wounded, and that, while 375,000 Saracens were slain in one day, the duke's losses throughout the war amounted to only 1500 men.[x]

Charlemagne repeatedly condemns some ecclesiastical superstitions, as well as those of the heathens whom he subdued. He forbids the veneration of fictitious saints and doubtful martyrs ;[y] the invocation or worship of any saints except such as the church had approved, or the erection of memorials to them by the wayside ;[z] the circulation of apocryphal or questionable narratives ;[a] the introduction of new names of angels, in addition to those for which there is scriptural authority—Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.[b] The council of Mentz forbids the translation of the bodies of saints, unless with permission from the sovereign and the bishops.[c]

Legendary lives of saints were now produced in wonderful abundance, and were the most popular literature of the times. In addition to their falsehood[d] (which, where consciously introduced, may have been held excusable by the writers for the sake of the expected good

[x] Anastas. 155.

[y] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 42.

[z] Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 42.

[a] Capit. A.D. 789, c. 77.

[b] Ib. c. 16. This professes to be from a canon of Laodicea (A.D. 372?), c. 35, which, however, prohibits *all* invocation of angels. The new turn given to the prohibition may have been intended against such teachers as Adelbert. (See above, p. 75.) Among other superstitions which are forbidden were the baptizing of bells (see above, p. 234), the practices of divination and sortilege (Cap. A.D. 789, c. 64), and the employment of charms against sickness in men or in cattle. Conc. Turon. A.D. 813, c. 42.

[c] C. 51 (A.D. 813).

[d] I must confess my inability to accept M. Ampère's definition of the legend—"Ce récit, souvent merveilleux, *que personne ne fabrique sciemment, et que tout le monde altère et falsifie sans le vouloir*" (i. 310-11 ; cf. ii. 355-6). M. Alfred Maury, in his 'Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen-Age' (Paris, 1843)—an able and learned book, but written on the principles of Strauss—traces the fictions of the hagiologists to three causes —(1) The attempt to assimilate the lives of their subjects to that of our Lord or to those of scripture saints. (2) The mistake of understanding literally things which were said in a figurative sense—*e.g.*, where a spiritual was represented as a bodily cure. (3) The invention of stories in order to explain symbols of which the real meaning had been lost. As to this last, see also Döllinger, 'Hippolytus u Kallistus,' 63.

effects) and to their enforcement of all the errors which had grown upon the church, they were blameable as teaching men to look for visible prosperity and chastisement according to individual desert in the ordinary government of the world.[e] Yet the evil of such legends was not without a large compensation of good. They set forth the power of religion, not only in miracles but in self-denial and renunciation of earthly things. In contrast with the rudeness and selfishness which generally prevailed, they presented examples which taught a spirit of gentleness and self-sacrifice, of purity, of patience, of love to God and man, of disinterested toil, of forgiveness of enemies, of kindness to the poor and the oppressed. The concluding part of the legend exhibited the saint triumphant after his earthly troubles, yet still interested in his brethren who were engaged in the struggle of life, and manifesting his interest by interpositions in their behalf. And above all there was the continual inculcation of a Providence watching over all the affairs of men, and ready to protect the innocent, or to recompense and avenge their sufferings.[f]

(9.) Even as early as the fourth century, some of the evils attendant on the general practice of pilgrimage had been noticed by Gregory of Nyssa and others;[g] and strong complaints of a like kind continue to be found from time to time. Gregory the Great tells Rusticiana, a lady of the imperial court, that, while she had been on a pilgrimage to Sinai, her affections had been at Constantinople, and expresses a suspicion that the holy objects which she had seen with her bodily eyes had made no impression on her heart.[h] But the idle spirit in which pilgrimages were often undertaken was not the

[e] Fleury, Disc. ii. 3.

[f] Guizot, Lecture 17; Löbell, 'Gregor. v. Tours,' 388; Ampère, ii. 360; Stephen's Lectures, i. 142.

[g] Vol. ii. p. 64.

[h] Ep. iv. 46.

worst mischief connected with them. Boniface writes to archbishop Cuthbert that of the multitude of English women who flocked to Rome, only a few escaped the ruin of their virtue; that it was rare to find a town of Lombardy or France in which some dishonoured English nun or other female pilgrim had not taken up her abode, and by her misconduct brought disgrace on the church of her native land.[1] Another unhappy effect of pilgrimages was, that for the sake of it bishops and abbots absented themselves for years from their proper spheres of labour, to the great injury of religion and discipline among those committed to their care.[k]

From Britain pilgrimages were most commonly made to Rome, where the English had, in the neighbourhood of the Vatican basilica, a quarter of their own, which was known by the Saxon name of *Burg*,—the Borgo of later times.[l] Some pilgrims from our island even found their way to the Holy Land.[m] In France the chief place of pilgrimage was the shrine of St. Martin, at Tours; but the resort from that country to Rome became greater after the accession of the Carolingian dynasty. The lives of pilgrims were regarded as sacred, and many hospitals were built for their reception;[n] among these was one founded at Jerusalem by Charlemagne for the benefit of Latin pilgrims.[o] The emperor in 802 orders that no one, whether rich or poor, shall refuse to pilgrims a roof, fire, and water, and encourages those who can afford more to greater hospitality by a consideration of the recompence which Scripture promises.[p] There are, however, canons against some of the abuses

[1] Ep. 63 (Patrol. lxxxix.).

[k] Fleury, Disc. ii. 5.

[l] Anastas. 214; Paul Warnef. vi. 27.

[m] See the lives of the Saxon Willibald, afterwards the first bishop of Eichstedt, and probably the same with Willibald the biographer of St. Boniface, in Canisius, ii. 100, seqq.

[n] Capit. Langobard. A.D. 782, c. 10.

[o] Bernardi Itinerarium, A.D. 870, in Patrol. cxxi. 572.

[p] Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 802, c. 27.

connected with pilgrimage. The council of Verne, in 755, orders that monks shall not be allowed to wander to Rome without their abbot's consent.[q] The council of Châlons, in 813, forbids the clergy to go either to Rome or to Tours without leave from their bishop; and, while it acknowledges that pilgrimage is profitable for those who have confessed their sins and have obtained directions for penance, who amend their lives, give alms, and practise devotion, it denounces the error of such as consider pilgrimage a licence to sin, and begs the emperor to take measures against a common practice of nobles, who extorted from their dependents the means of paying the expense of their own pilgrimages.[r]

In some cases, persons who had been guilty of grievous sin were condemned by way of penance to leave their country, and either to wander for a certain time, or to undertake a pilgrimage to some particular place. These penitents were furnished with letters from their bishops, which at once made known their guilt and bespoke the charity of Christians for them. Many of them were loaded with chains, or with rings which ate into the flesh and inflicted excessive torture.[s] Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred the Great, at his visit to Rome in 855, obtained from Benedict III. the privilege that no Englishman should ever be obliged to leave his own country for this sort of penance;[t] but long before his time impostors had found their account in going about naked and in irons under the pretence of having been sentenced to pilgrimage for some fearful crime. The capitulary of 789 for-

[q] C. 10.

[r] Cc. 44-5.

[s] Notices of this are found as early as Gregory of Tours, in the end of the sixth century. De Glor. Confess. 87; see Martene, i. 268; Ducange. s. v. *Peregrinatio.*

[t] Th. Rudborne, Hist. Winton., in Wharton, i. 202; Lingard, H. E. i. 177. According to Gaimar, this privilege was obtained for the English by Canute, on his visit to Rome in 1027 or 1031. Mon. Hist. Brit. 821.

bids such vagabonds to roam about the country, and suggests that those who have really been guilty of some great and unusual offence may perform their penance better by remaining in one place.[u]

(10.) The discipline of the church in dealing with sin was now regulated by penitential books. These books were of eastern origin; the earliest of them was drawn up by John, patriarch of Constantinople, the antagonist of Gregory the Great;[x] the first Penitential in the western church was that which is commonly ascribed to Theodore, the Greek archbishop of Canterbury.[y] As the impossibility of fulfilling the requirements of the ancient canons had led to a general evasion or disregard of them,[z] a scheme of commutation was introduced; for example, a certain amount of fasting might be redeemed by the recitation of a prescribed number of psalms. From this the transition was easy to a system of pecuniary commutations[a]—a system recommended by the analogy of the *wehr*.[b] That institution had been extended from its original character of a composition for life to the case of lesser bodily injuries, so that the loss of a limb, an eye, a finger, or a tooth was to be atoned for by a fixed pecuni-

[u] C. 78: cf. Capit. A.D. 802, c. 45. See Gregorov. iii. 87-8.

[x] Schröckh, xx. 146-7. John's Penitential is in the Appendix to Morinus, De Pœnit. 77, seqq.; and in the Patrol. Gr. lxxxviii. For the western Penitentials, see Walter, Kirchenrecht, 179-82.

[y] Murat. Antiq. v. 711; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 335. The Penitential which has commonly been published as that of Theodore is now considered to be a compilation executed in the Frankish kingdom during the ninth century; but a more genuine production—the work of a disciple of Theodore, and possibly drawn up under the archbishop's own direction—has been published by Prof. Wasserschleben (Halle, 1851), and by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs. See their Preface to vol. i. pp. xiii.-xiv. and vol. iii. pp. 173, seqq.; 212; Herzog, ii. 464-6.

[z] Planck, ii. 292; Rettb. ii. 740.

[a] Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 742; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 335-7. The chapter on Commutations, which is given as the work of Theodore in Mr. Thorpe's 'Ancient Laws,' &c. (pp. 397 ff.) is probably of Frankish origin; and the so-called 'Confessional of Abp. Egbert,' in which the commutations are ascribed to Theodore (ib. 345) is also spurious. Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 212.

[b] Planck, ii. 296; Rettb. ii. 737, 741-2. See above, p. 206.

ary fine ;[c] and the principle was now introduced into the penitentials, where offences were rated in a scale both of exercises and of money nearly resembling that of the civil damages. As yet, however, these payments were not regarded as a source of profit to the church, but were to be given to the poor, according to the penitent's discretion.[d] In England, the rich were able to relieve themselves in their penance by associating with themselves a number of poor persons for the performance of it. By such means it was possible to clear off seven years of penitence within a week ; and, although the practice was condemned by the council of Cloveshoo,[e] it was afterwards formally sanctioned.[f]

The necessary effect of the new penitential system was not only to encourage the fatal error of regarding money as an equivalent for sin—an error against which some councils protested in vain,[g] while the language of others seems to countenance it[h]—but to introduce a spirit of petty traffic into the relations of sinners with their God. In opposition to this spirit Gregory III. said that canons ought not to lay down exactly the length of time which should be assigned to penance for each offence, forasmuch as that which avails with God is not the measure of time but of sorrow.[i] The council of Châlons denounces

[c] See Alfred's Laws, in Thorpe, 41-4 ; Ethelbert's Laws, in Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 45, seqq. ; Perry, 436.

[d] Planck, ii. 330; Rettb. ii. 741-2; rimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, 661-4, Götting. 1828.

[e] A.D. 747, c. 27.

[f] Turner, Hist. Anglos. iii. 86 ; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 338-9. See the chapter "Of powerful Men" in Edgar's canons (Thorpe, 414-15). The conclusion is—"This is the alleviation of the penance of a man powerful, and rich in friends ; but one not possessing means may not so proceed, but must seek it in himself the more diligently ; and that is also justest, that every one avenge his own misdeeds on himself, with diligent *bót* (compensation). Scriptum est enim, Quia unusquisque onus suum portabit."

[g] Conc. Clovesh. c. 26 ; Conc Cabill. A.D. 813, c. 36.

[h] Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 6 ; Conc. Matisc. A.D. 585, c. 4. The Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 816, c. 1, speaks of "pretia peccatorum." See vol. ii. p. 337.

[i] Hard. iii. 1870 ; cf. Halitgar. Præf. ad Pœnitent. (Patrol. cv. 654, 657).

the penitential books, of which it says that "the errors are certain and the authors uncertain"; it charges them with "sewing pillows to all arm-holes," and requires that penance should be restored to the footing of the ancient canons;[k] and there are similar passages in other French councils of the ninth and tenth centuries.[l]

Confession of secret sins was much insisted on; but the priest was regarded rather as an adviser than as a judge, and the form of his absolution was not judicial but precatory.[m] Absolution was usually given immediately after confession, and the prescribed penance was left to be performed afterwards, so that, whereas in earlier ages the penitents had been excluded for a time from the full communion of the church, they now remained in it throughout.[n]

The penalty of excommunication became in the Frankish church much more severe than it had formerly been. The council of Verne lays down that an excommunicate person "must not enter the church, nor partake of food or drink with any Christian; neither may any one receive his gifts, or kiss him, or join with him in prayer, or salute him."[o] It has been supposed that the new terrors of this sentence were borrowed from the practice of the druids,[p] with a view to controlling the rude converts who would have disregarded a purely spiritual penalty. The power of wielding it must doubtless have added greatly to the influence of the clergy, although this effect did not yet appear so fully as at a later period.

(11.) The trial of guilt or innocence by means of a solemn appeal to heaven had been practised among

[k] A.D. 813, c. 38.

[l] Giesel. II. i. 168. On the evil of the Penitentials, see Martineau, 234-5; on the good which they were able to effect in such ages, there is an eloquent passage in Milman, i. 380-1.

[m] Bingham, xix. ii. 5-6; Rettb. ii. 738.

[n] Planck, ii. 316.

[o] A.D. 755, c. 9 (Pertz, i. 25).

[p] Mosheim, ii. 135.

many heathen nations, including those of the north.[q] The Mosaic law had sanctioned it in certain cases;[r] it fell in with the popular appetite for miracles, and the church now for a time took the management of such trials into her own hands.[s] The *ordeal*, or judgment of God,[t] was not to be resorted to where the guilt of an accused person was clear, but in cases of suspicion, where evidence was wanting or insufficient. The appeal was conducted with great solemnity. The accuser swore to the truth of his charge; the accused (who for three days had been preparing himself by fasting and prayer) asserted his innocence in the same manner; and he was adjured in the most awful terms not to approach the Lord's table if he were conscious of any guilt in the matter which was to be submitted to the Divine judgment. Both parties then communicated; and after this, the clergy anointed the instruments with which the trial was to be made.[u]

The ordeal was of various kinds. That by *judicial combat* or *wager of battle*[v] was employed, not only for the discovery of crime but in civil matters, such as disputes relating to the boundaries of property.[x] Otho the Great

[q] Ημεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν, κ.τ.λ. *Sophocl. Antig.* 264-7. For other instances see Grimm, Rechtsalterthümer, 933; Augusti, x. 254-8.

[r] As in the trial of jealousy, Num. v.; and in the casting of lots, Josh. vii.

[s] Planck, iii. 540; Robertson, Hist. of Charles V., i. 45-51, ed. Oxford, and note 22. For instances among the Byzantine Greeks, see G. Acropol. p. 5 (*combat*); Joh. Cantacuz. l. iii. 27, p. 439 (*hot iron*, in purgation of a charge of adultery); G. Pachymer. l. i. 12; all cited by Mr. Finlay, Gr. and Byz. Empires, ii. 393.

[t] *Ordeal* is the same word as the modern German *Urtheil*, judgment.

[u] A collection of forms used in the ordeal is given in Baluze's edition of the Capitularies, and is reprinted by Bouquet, v. 595-609, and in the Patrologia, lxxxvii. 929, seqq. Other forms are given by Pez, ii. 635, seqq. See too Martene, ii. 332; Murat. Antiq. Dissert. 38 (t. iii.); Patrol. cxxxviii. 1127, seqq. The fullest code is that in Athelstane's laws [which may be found in Thorpe]. Planck, iii. 540.

[v] See Ducange, s. v. *Duellum;* Murat. Antiq. Dissert. 39; Waitz, iv. 360; Grimm, 927.

[x] See the accounts of two duels fought in a question of this kind, about

even resorted to it as a means of determining a legal principle—whether at a man's death the children of a deceased son should share in the inheritance with their surviving uncles.[y] This manner of appeal to the Divine judgment was introduced into the Burgundian law by the Arian king Gundobald, the contemporary of Clovis, against the remonstrances of Avitus, bishop of Vienne.[z] It was not uncommon among the Franks, but appears to have been unknown in England until after the Norman conquest.[a] Persons who were disqualified for undergoing this ordeal by age, sex, bodily weakness, or by the monastic or clerical profession, were allowed to fight by champions, who were usually hired, and were regarded as a disreputable class.[b] In like manner corporations or societies committed their interests to

the middle of the 13th century in the Chron. de Melsa, ii. 98, 101.

[y] The champion of the grandsons was victorious, and the law was established in accordance with this result. Widukind, ii. 10 (Patrol. cxxxvii.); Giesebr. i. 280.

[z] Agobard adv. Legem Gundobaldi, c. 13; adv. Judicium Dei, c. 5: Datt, 4. For this there is no ritual in the church-books. Augusti, x. 298.

[a] Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 136; Phillips, ii. 127. For the Anglo-Norman laws on this subject, see the 'Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ,' l. ii. c. 3, in Phillips' Appendix. For the early Scottish laws as to the combat and other ordeals, see Innes, Scotland in the Middle Ages, 185, seqq. For the later system of judicial combat in France, Hallam, M. A. i. 186-7.

[b] Ducange, s. v. *Campiones*. Atto, bishop of Vercelli in the tenth century, complains that clergymen and monks were obliged to fight by proxy. The judicial combat, he says, belongs to laymen only, and is not a sure test in any case. (De Pressuris Eccles., Patrol. cxxxiv. 58, 61.) In later times, the privilege of exemption from the combat was often granted by emperors or other sovereigns to the inhabitants of particular cities or districts. In Scotland, the burgesses of royal burghs might claim the combat against those of burghs dependent on subjects, but could not in their turn be obliged to grant them the combat (Leges IV. Burgarum, c. 14, in Acts of Parl. of Scotland, i. 23). "Knights and free tenants might do battle by proxy, but those of foul kin were obliged to fight in person." (Innes, 185.) Some ecclesiastics kept champions regularly in their pay. Thus, Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford from 1282 to 1317, retained Thomas de Bruges, with an annual payment of 6*s.* 8*d.*, "dum idem Thomas potens est officium pugilis exercere," and a promise of special pay and allowances whenever his prowess should be called into action. Household Roll, ed. Webb (Camden Society), 125, 201, and Pref. xxv., lix. Cf. Ducange, ii. 65.

champions.[c] In the trial by *hot iron*, the accused walked barefoot over heated ploughshares,[d] or (which was the more usual form), he carried a piece of glowing iron in his hand nine times the length of his foot. The foot or the hand (as the case might be) was then bound up and sealed until the third day, when it was examined, and according to its appearance the guilt or innocence of the party was decided.[e] The trial of *hot water* consisted in plunging the arm into a boiling caldron, and taking out a stone, a ring, or a piece of iron, which was hung at a greater or less depth in proportion to the gravity of the offence in question.[f] That of *cold water* was performed by throwing the accused into a pond, with a cord attached to him, by which he might be drawn out. If he were laden with weights, sinking was a proof of guilt; if not, it was held to prove his innocence.[g] In the ordeal of the

[c] See in Muratori, Antiq. iv. 647, the "Memoria litis et pugnæ inter monasterium S. Prosperi Regiensis et commune Vallis pro bonis in terra Naseti, coram judicibus Matildæ comitissæ, A.D. 1098." The champion o the monastery was treated with gross unfairness, and the judges gave no decision.

[d] Ducange, s. v. *Vomeres*· Murat. Antiq. iii. 622; Grimm, 914.

[e] Ib. 915; Lingard, ii. 136. There is a question how this trial could ever have been successfully borne. Mr. Soames supposes that the hand was fortified against the heat by some sort of preparation, and that this, with the shortness of the distance, and the interval of three days before the inspection, might be enough to account for it (A. S. C. 293). Mr. Hallam, although less confidently, suggests a like explanation (M. A. ii. 359), and ancient receipts for enabling the hand to bear fire exist (Ducange, s. vv. *Ferrum Candens;* Münter, ii. 229; Raumer, v. 284). Grimm (911) and Rettberg (ii. 753) say that the trial was very rarely made, and only in the cases of persons against whom the popular feeling would be strong if they failed. Freemen might clear themselves by their own oath, or by that of compurgators (Ducange, s. v. *Juramentum;* Grimm, 911; Kemble, i. 210), so that the ordeal would be left to slaves (Martene, ii. 331) and to such women as could not find a champion. This explanation, however, does not at all account for the instances of success; and moreover, cases are recorded in which the trial of hot iron was endured by monks and other freemen (Ducange, s. v. *Ferrum Candens;* Muratori, in Patrol. lxxxvii. 962-4). Planck says (iii. 543-6) that in all recorded instances the issue of these ordeals was favourable, and supposes that the clergy employed a pious fraud to save the lives of innocent persons. See Augusti, x. 273.

[f] Ducange, s. vv. *Aquæ ferventis Judicium;* Grimm, 919; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 135.

[g] Ducange, s. vv. *Aquæ frigidæ Judicium;* Murat. in Patrol. lxxxvii.

cross (which, notwithstanding the name which it acquired, was probably of heathen origin),[h] the accused or his proxy held up the right arm, or both arms; psalms were sung during the trial, and the sinking or trembling of the arms was evidence of guilt.[i] Among other kinds of ordeal were—holding the hand in fire; walking in a thin garment between two burning piles;[k] eating a cake, which in England was called the *corsned*;[l] and receiving the holy eucharist.[m]

Some of these practices were condemned after a time. Lewis the Pious, after having in 816 prescribed the trial of the cross as a means of deciding between contradictory witnesses,[n] abolished it in the following year, "lest that which hath been glorified by the passion of Christ should through any man's rashness be brought to contempt."[o] Under the same emperor, the ordeal of cold water was forbidden in 829,[p] although in 824 it had

959; Augusti, x. 289; Grimm, 523. Hincmar combats the objection raised by the opponents of ordeals, that (when there were no weights) the guilty ought to sink, and the innocent to swim (i. 605), as is said to have happened in a case recorded by Gregory of Tours, De Gloria Martyrum, i. 69.

[h] Grimm, 926. See Ducange, s. vv. *Crucis Judicium.*

[i] Capit. A.D. 779, c. 10; Pagi, xiii. 112; Murat. Antiq. iii. 624.

[k] Grimm, 912. Of this we shall meet with instances hereafter.

[l] Laws of Cnut, c. 5 (Thorpe, 155); Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 132; Augusti, x. 299. Some writers (as Ducange, s.v.) derive this word from *corse* (curse), and *snaed* (a piece or mouthful); but Grimm, and Mr. Thorpe (Glossary to Ancient Laws) prefer a derivation from *cor*, trial.

[m] Grimm, 932. This trial was especially used for ecclesiastics, who were not allowed to swear (Ducange, s. v. *Eucharistia*, p. 115). A council at Worms, in 868, prescribes that, for discovery of theft in a monastery, all the monks should communicate (c. 15); but this was afterwards forbidden as improper (Hard. n. in loc.). Froumund, a monk of Tegernsee, in the earlier part of the eleventh century, by way of clearing himself from the suspicion of having stolen a book, prays that, if he had been anyhow concerned in the theft, the eucharist may turn to his condemnation. (Ep. 2, Patrol. cxli.). Popes afterwards declared against this trial. See Waitz, iv. 359.

[n] This was by way of alternative, if they were not strong enough to fight with clubs and shields. The loser was to forfeit his right hand. Capit. A.D. 816, c. 1.

[o] Capit. A.D. 817, c. 27.

[p] Capit. Wormat. c. 12.

been sanctioned by Eugenius II.—the only pope who ever countenanced the system of ordeals.[q] Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, a strenuous opponent of popular superstitions, addressed to Lewis two tracts against the judicial combat.[r] He reflects on the heresy of the Burgundian king who had sanctioned it.[s] He denounces such duels as unchristian, and as involving a breach of charity more important than any good which could be expected from them.[t] He argues that, if truth might be thus ascertained, all judges are superfluous;[u] that the system holds out a premium to brute strength and to perjury; that the idea of its efficacy is contrary to Scripture, since we are there taught to despise the success of this world—since God suffers his saints to be slain, and has allowed believing nations to be overcome by unbelievers and heretics;[x] and he appeals to instances in which the vanity of such trials had been manifested.[y] The ordeal, however, continued to be supported by the popular feeling, and the cause which Agobard had opposed soon after found a powerful champion in Hincmar.[z]

[q] Mabill. Analecta, 161; Augusti, x. 251.

[r] Adv. Legem Gundob.; Adv. Judic. Dei (Opera, t. i.).

[s] Ib. 5.

[t] Adv. Leg. Gund. init.; Adv. Jud. Dei, 6-11.

[u] Ib. 5.

[x] Adv. Leg. Gund. 9.

[y] Ib. 14. Saxo Grammaticus says that, in consequence of the missionary Poppo's miracle of the hot gauntlet (see below, Book V. c. viii. sect. 10), judicial combats were superseded in Denmark by such ordeals, which made a more direct appeal to God (189). See Münter, ii. 227.

[z] The third council of Valence, A.D. 855, ordered that persons who slew or hurt others in judicial combats should be put to penance as robbers and murderers; and that those slain in such combats should be excluded from the sacrifice of the mass and from Christian burial (c. 12). It also condemned the custom of admitting contradictory oaths (c. 11). There is a letter of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, A.D. 1099, to Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans (and afterwards archbishop of Tours), who had been required by William Rufus to clear himself, by the ordeal of hot iron, from the charge of having been concerned in the surrender of Le Mans to Elie de la Flèche (see Lappenb. ii. 204). Ivo cites several popes against the system, and exhorts Hildebert by no means to countenance it (Ep. 74; cf. Ep. 205, Patrol. clxii.). A few years later, however, we find Gille,

(11.) The privilege of asylum in the Germanic kingdoms differed considerably from that which had existed under the Roman empire. It arose out of the ancient national usages; the object of it was not to bestow impunity on the criminal, but to protect him against hasty and irregular vengeance, to secure for him a legal trial, to afford the clergy an opportunity of interceding for him, and, if possible, of mitigating his punishment.[a] The operation of this institution was aided by the system of pecuniary composition for wrongs. The clergy were usually able to stipulate for the safety of the offender's life and limbs on condition that he should pay a

bishop of Limerick, in a tract intended to inculcate Roman usages on his countrymen, speaking of the priest as entitled to bless the water or the bread in ordeals, and of the bishop as blessing the "judicial iron" (ib. clix. 1000-2). Alan of Lille, in the end of the twelfth century, says that an oath is the only lawful purgation, "cum aliæ purgationes ab ecclesia sint prohibitæ, ut judicium aquæ frigidæ, et ferri candentis, et ignis; hoc enim modo se purgare, est Deum tentare" (Contra Hæreticos, ii. 19, Patrol. ccx.). In 1213 the general chapter of the Cistercians put an abbot and one of his monks to penance—the monk for having blessed the hot iron for an ordeal, the abbot for having winked at this act. (Mart. Thes. iv. 1313.) The fourth council of Lateran, in 1215, forbade the clergy to take part in ordeals (c. 18). St. Lewis would not allow judicial combats, but insisted that the regular processes of justice should be observed. (Chron. in Bouq. xxi. 84; Tillemont, Vie de S. Louis, v. 265-70.) In 1252, Innocent IV. wrote in condemnation of a custom by which ecclesiastics in France were required to do battle, either personally or by proxy. He says that they are not allowed to fight, whether personally or otherwise, without endangering their orders and forfeiting the power of offering the eucharistic sacrifice; and he says that such ordeals are an abuse, "quo Deus tentatur, et vera sæpius judicia perverturtur." (Raynald. 1252 31.) But although popes and kings endeavoured to suppress the practice of judicial combat (Ducange, s. v. *Duellum*, p. 593; Murat. Antiq. iii. 626-7; Gratian, Decr. II. ii. 5, Patrol. clxxxvii.), it continued to flourish. There are many regulations for it in Frederick II.'s Sicilian code (Houillard-Bréholles, vol. iv. l. ii. titt. 33, seqq.): and, as is well known, it was sanctioned by English law down to the present century, when it was abolished by 59 Geo. III. c. 46 (Kerr's Blackstone, iii. 359-62). As to the east—George Acropolita relates that Michael Comnenus, on offering to prove his innocence by the ordeal of hot iron, was told by the patriarch of Philadelphia that it was a barbaric custom, unauthorized either by Roman or Byzantine institutions, or by the traditions of the church (c. 50, p. 53, ed. Paris). Innocent VIII condemned it in a letter to the Archduke of Austria. Raynald. 1485. 20.

[a] Planck, ii. 256; Grimm, Rechtsalterthümer, 886; Rettb. ii. 745; Ozanam. 139; Waitz, iii. 123-5.

suitable fine, or perhaps that he should submit to a course of penance.[b] Charlemagne in 779 limited the right of sanctuary by enacting that murderers or other capital offenders should not be allowed to take refuge in churches, and that, if they gained admittance, no food should be given to them.[c] According to the ancient Roman idea of asylum, the denial of food would have been an impiety sufficient to draw down some judgment from the patron saint of a church; but it was not inconsistent with the German view.[d] The clergy, however, soon discovered a way of evading this law, by construing it as applicable to impenitent criminals only—*i.e.* to such as should refuse to confess to the priest and to undergo ecclesiastical penance—a refusal which was not likely to be frequent, where it involved the choice between death by hunger and the forfeiture of sanctuary.[e] The prohibition of food does not appear in later enactments of the reign.[f]

The church could not fail to derive popularity from the power of offering shelter within its precincts against the lawlessness of which the world was then so full.[g] With a view of investing it with such popularity among his new subjects, Charlemagne ordered, in his capitulary for Saxony (A.D. 785), that any person who should take sanctuary should, for the honour of God and His church, be safe in life and limb, and should be unmolested until the next court-day, when he was to be sentenced to make suitable amends for his offence.[h] In legislating for the country after it had been reduced to a more settled state,

[b] Schröckh, xix. 471; Planck, ii. 257; Rettb. ii. 746-7.

[c] C. 8. This is the Lombard form, which is clearer than the Frankish. See both in Pertz, i. 36.

[d] Rettb. ii. 747.

[e] Schröckh, xix. 471; Planck, ii. 259-60.

[f] *E.g.*, the additions to the Salic law, A.D. 803, c. 3 (Pertz, i. 113); Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 39. It is, however, in Alfred's laws, c. 5. (Thorpe, 29.)

[g] Planck, ii. 261; Hallam, M. A., 366.

[h] C. 2.

this privilege was withdrawn, and the church was required to surrender up persons convicted of capital crimes.[i]

Among the Anglo-Saxons, the earliest law on the subject of asylum was that of Ina, in 696, which ordered that fugitives guilty of capital crimes should have their life protected by the church, but should be bound to make legal satisfaction; and that delinquents who had "put their hide in peril"—*i.e.* who had incurred the penalty of whipping—should be forgiven.[k] But the shelter of the church was only to be granted for a certain time. The laws of Alfred (A.D. 877) limit it in some monasteries to three days;[l] but it was afterwards extended, and even in the same laws a longer term is allowed to other places.[m] Persons guilty of murder, treason, or crimes against religion, might ordinarily be dragged even from the altar; but some churches of especial sanctity, among which that of Croyland enjoyed the most extensive immunities, had the right of protecting all fugitives whatever.[n] The effect of such a privilege was probably felt as a serious hindrance to the execution of justice; for when Croyland, after having been laid waste by the Danes, was restored in the reign of Edred by his chancellor Turketul, the aged statesman declined to accept a renewal of its ancient rights of sanctuary.[o]

[i] Rettb. ii. 412, 748. In Alcuin's correspondence, there is much about a dispute between him and Theodulf of Orleans on the subject of a convicted clerk, who escaped from Orleans and took refuge in St. Martin's abbey at Tours. The monks and the mob of Tours rose in his defence, and Alcuin incurred the displeasure of Charlemagne by supporting his brethren, who seem to have been altogether in the wrong. Epp. 118-19, 195.

[k] C. 5. Wilkins, i. 59; Thorpe, 46.

[l] C. 2. Thorpe, 28.

[m] C. 5. See Thorpe, 27-9; Lingard A. S. C. i. 275.

[n] Lingard, A. S. C. i. 276. See as to Hexham, Ric. Hagustald. ap. Twysden, 292.

[o] Ingulf. ap. Fell, Rer. Brit. Script. 40, Oxf. 1684. As to sanctuary in Scotland, see Jos. Robertson, Conc Scotiæ, ii. 261-3, 271.

VI. *Slavery.*

Instead of absolutely condemning slavery as an unlawful institution [p]—a course which would probably have introduced anarchy into society, and would have raised a serious hindrance to the progress of the Gospel—the New Testament had been content to prepare the way for its gradual abolition by exhorting both master and slave to the performance of their mutual duties on the ground of their common brotherhood in Christ. And as yet the church aimed only at a mitigation, not at an extinction, of slavery.

Servitude was of two kinds—that of slaves properly so called, and that of the *coloni*. The slaves were individually liable to removal and sale; they were incapable, under the Roman empire, of contracting a legitimate marriage,[q] and their property belonged to their master. The coloni were regarded as freeborn, so that, unlike slaves, they might become soldiers; they were attached to the land, so that they could not be separated from it, nor could it be sold without them. They were capable of marriage and of possessing property; for the land which they cultivated they paid a fixed rent, generally in kind, and they were subject to the land-tax and to a poll-tax.[r] It would, however, seem difficult to distinguish

[p] On Slavery, see Murat. Antiq. Ital., Dissertt. xiv.-xv. There are some curious sentences on the advantages and disadvantages of the system, pp. 795-6.

[q] In the east, the marriage of slaves was only concubinage, till Basil the Macedonian (A.D. 867-86) altered the law; and that emperor's edict was not observed in practice (Biot, De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage en Occident, Paris, 1840, p. 213; Milman, i. 339). The barbarian codes, however, recognize it as proper marriage (Milman, i. 363). There are many regulations as to marriages between parties of various conditions, as to the effects of separation by sale, etc.; *e.g.*, Cod. Theod. ii. 25; Conc. Tolet. IX. A.D. 655, c. 13; Theodor. Capit. 17; Egbert. Excerpt. 126; Conc. Vermer. A.D. 753, c. 6; Conc. Compend. A.D. 756, c. 5; Conc. Cabill. III. A.D. 813, c. 30.

[r] Robertson, 'Charles V.', notes 9, 20; Hallam, i. 145, seqq.; Guizot, iii. 125-33; Savigny on the Roman Co-

thoroughly between these classes in the canons which relate to the subject.

The Penitential ascribed to Theodore of Canterbury notes it as a point of difference between the eastern and the western monks, that, while the Latins have slaves, the Greeks have none.[s] The oriental monks themselves performed the labour which was elsewhere devolved on slaves; it was usual for persons entering on the monastic life to emancipate their slaves;[t] and some teachers, as Isidore of Pelusium in the fifth century[u] and Theodore the Studite in the ninth, altogether questioned, or even denied, the lawfulness of having such property.[x] In the west there are occasional appearances of a like kind. Thus Wilfrid, on getting possession of the isle of Selsey, emancipated all the serfs who were attached to the soil;[y] and Benedict of Aniane, whose ideas were chiefly drawn from the eastern monastic rules, on receiving gifts of land for his monasteries, refused to accept the serfs with it.[z] Somewhat in the same spirit was the enactment of the council of Chalchythe, in 816, that a bishop at his death should liberate such of his English slaves as had been reduced to bondage in his own time.[a] But the usual practice of the west was different. In donations

loni, in Philolog. Museum, ii. 117-46; Thierry, Essai sur le Tiers Etat, c. 1; Waitz, ii. 164; Lecky, Hist. of Morals, ii. 72, seqq. The coloni appear only in the later times of Rome, and the origin of the institution is unknown (Savigny, 145. See Guizot, 133; Long, in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, 313). M. de Broglie quotes Wallon, 'De l'Esclavage,' as having shown that they were originally small landholders, who in bad times placed themselves in the condition here described for the sake of protection, etc., ii. 275-9.

[s] Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 196.

[t] See, *e.g.*, Theodor. Studit., Laudatio Platonis, 8 (Patrol. Gr. xcix.).

[u] Ep. i. 142.

[x] Theodore, in his will (p. 66, ed. Sirmond) forbids the abbot of his monastery to have slaves, since the use of them, as of marriage, is allowed to secular persons only. But the reason which he gives—that they are men, made in God's image—would hold equally against all slavery whatever.

[y] Beda, iv. 13.

[z] Vita, c. 14, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. v. 197.

[a] C. 10; comp. the will of Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1006, in the Abingdon Chronicle, i. 419.

of land to the church, the serfs passed with the soil, as in other transfers.[b] Bishops were restrained by a regard for the property of their churches from emancipating the serfs who belonged to these; the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633) declared such emancipation to be a robbery of the church; it enacted that the next bishop should assert his right over any persons whom his predecessor had thus wrongfully liberated, and that any bishop wishing to emancipate a slave should indemnify the church by providing another in his stead.[c] An earlier council—that of Agde, in 506—had restrained the power of bishops to alienate slaves; and, in a spirit curiously opposed to the oriental principles, it forbade monks to manumit their slaves, "lest they should keep holiday while the monks work."[d] It was even found that some persons—whether from a reckless spirit of mistaken devotion, or from a calculation of the advantages and disadvantages of the two conditions—voluntarily made over themselves and their descendants in servitude to some church; and for such an act special forms were provided.[e]

Yet with all this the church did very much to abate the evils of slavery.[f] It insisted on the natural equality of men and on the brotherhood of Christians, as motives to kindness towards slaves; and in the treatment of its own dependants it held out an example to lay masters.[g] It threw open its sanctuaries to those who fled from cruelty; it secured their pardon before surrendering them to their owners; it denounced excommunication against any master who should break a promise made to a fugitive slave.[h]

[b] Planck, ii. 348-50.

[c] Cc. 67-8. [d] C. 56.

[e] See Martene, Thes. i. 764, where the freeman makes himself a slave, "Vera et spontanea voluntate, nec coactus nec deceptus."

[f] Kemble, i. 208-9; Rettb. ii. 735. See Möhler, 'Bruchstücke aus d. Geschichte d. Aufhebung d. Sklaverei,' (Aufsätze, ii. 54-140); C. Babington, 'The Influence of Christianity in promoting the Abolition of Slavery,' Cambr. 1846.

[g] Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 418; Rettb. ii. 736; Montalemb. i. Introd. 214.

[h] See Neander, v. 138, who quotes a

It placed the killing of a slave without judicial authority on the same footing of guilt as the killing of a freeman.[i] It endeavoured to restrain the sale of slaves, by limiting the power which parents among the heathen nations exercised over their own offspring,[k] and by prohibiting that any should be sold to Jews or heathens.[l] It encouraged the redemption of captives, and declared the enfranchisement of slaves to be a work conducive to salvation ;[m] and it was through the influence of the church that innumerable masters directed by their wills that their slaves should be set free "for the deliverance of their own souls."[n] The liberation was often, as under the Roman law, visibly associated with religion by being performed at the altar, where the master resigned his slave to the church, with which the freedman was thenceforth connected by a peculiar tie—he and his descendants paying some slight acknowledgment to it, while, in the failure of posterity, the church was heir to his property.[o]

horrible story from Gregory of Tours, v. 13.

[i] Planck, ii. 350.

[k] Theodore of Canterbury (*i.e.* the author of the Penitential ascribed to him, c. 28) and Egbert of York (Pœnit. i. 27 ; Thorpe, 354) recognize the right of a father, in case of need, to sell his son under the age of seven, but not above that age, except with the son's consent. Egbert elsewhere excommunicates those who sell their children (Pœnit. iv. 26, p. 381),—a seeming inconsistency, which is explained by supposing the excommunication to apply to the case of children over seven years of age. Kemble, i. 199-200.

[l] *E.g.*, Cod. Theod. III. i. 5 ; Cod. Just. I. iii. 56. 3 ; I. x. ; Gregor. Epp. i. 10, ix. 36, and elsewhere ; Conc. Cabill. A.D. 650, c. 9 ; Conc. Tolet. x. A.D. 656, c. 7 ; Laws of Ina, A.D. 696, c. 11 (Thorpe, 48) ; Capit. Mantuan. c. 7 (Pertz, i. 41). Constantius had forbidden the sale of even a heathen slave to a Jew, lest his conversion should be hindered (Biot, 138). Gregory III. charges Boniface to prevent Christians from selling slaves to pagans *for sacrifice* (Ep. i. 8 ; Patrol. lxxxix.). There is a remarkable letter of Adrian I. to Charlemagne, who had been told that the Romans had sold slaves to the Saracens, apparently with the pope's sanction. Adrian, with much indignant language, endeavours to clear himself of the imputation, and throws the blame on Greeks and Lombards, whom, he says, he had attempted to check, but in vain, as he had not ships to enforce his wishes (Bouquet, v. 557). On the sale of slaves to the Saracens, which was chiefly carried on by the Venetians, see Leo, Gesch. v. Italien, i. 223-6.

[m] See Marculf, ii. 32 (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

[n] Planck, ii. 360-1 ; Turner, Hist. Anglos. iii. 480 ; Kemble, ii. 212.

[o] Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c.

There was also another way by which the church signally contributed to raise the estimation of the servile classes. As the freemen of the conquering nations were prevented from becoming clergy or monks without the sovereign's leave, in order that he might not lose their military service, the bishops were obliged to recruit the ranks of their clergy chiefly from the classes which were below the obligation to such service.[p] The fourth council of Toledo requires that serfs ordained to be clergymen should be emancipated;[q] but it was not until the year 817, in the reign of Lewis the Pious, that a similar law was established in France,[r] although before that time the clergy of servile race had been exempted from servile duties.[s] The serf, when ordained, became capable of rising to honour and power; when promoted beyond the minor orders, he was assessed at a *wehr* corresponding to that of high secular rank; and this rose with each step to which he was advanced in the hierarchy.[t] The clergy who had thus been raised from a servile condition to dignity and influence felt themselves bound (apart from all religious motives) to labour for the benefit of the class to which they had originally belonged, and a general elevation of that class was the result.[u]

The advancement of persons servilely born to high ecclesiastical station was not, however, unattended by a mixture of bad effects. Thegan, the biographer of Lewis

70-1; Planck, ii. 360; Kemble, i. 224; Rettb. ii. 736. See in Chron. Casin. i. 10 (Pertz, vii.), the donation made by a citizen of Benevento, A.D. 771, to the monastery of Monte Cassino.

[p] Planck, ii. 352; Neand. v. 135. For the laws as to ordination of slaves, see Gratian, Dist. 54 (Patrol. clxxxvii.).

[q] A.D. 633. C. 74. Justinian had forbidden that slaves should be ordained, even with the leave of their masters; because these, by freeing them, could open the lawful path to ordination (Cod. Just. I. iii. 37); but afterwards ordination itself emancipated. See the notes, l. c., and comp. Novell. cxxiii. 17; Leo, Const. 9, 11.

[r] Capit. Generale, c. 6; Planck, ii. 355. The form then used is in Bouquet, vi. 447.

[s] Planck, ii. 354-6.

[t] See p. 206.

[u] Planck, ii. 356-8; Guizot, ii. 32.

the Pious, gives a very unfavourable representation of such clergy. He tells us that, when they have attained to offices of dignity, the gentleness of their former manners is exchanged for insolence, quarrelsomeness, domineering, and assumption; that they emancipate their relations, and either provide for them by church-preferment or marry them into noble families; and that these upstarts are insufferably insolent to the old nobility.[x] The picture is no doubt coloured both by Thegan's prejudices as a man of high birth, and by his indignation at the behaviour of some ecclesiastics towards his unfortunate sovereign; but the parallels both of history and of our own experience may assure us of its substantial truth.

[x] Vita Hludov. 20. (Pertz, ii.) On the gradual disappearance of slavery in France, see Thierry, sur le Tiers Etat, 10. seqq.

BOOK V.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEPOSITION OF POPE GREGORY VI., A.D. 814-1046.

CHAPTER I.

LEWIS THE PIOUS (A.D. 814-840).—END OF THE CONTROVERSY AS TO IMAGES (A.D. 813-842).—THE FALSE DECRETALS.

I. THE great defect of Charlemagne's system was, that it required a succession of such men as himself to carry it on. His actual successors were sadly unequal to sustain the mighty burden of the empire.

Feeling the approach of his end, Charlemagne, after having obtained the concurrence of the national diet, summoned his only surviving legitimate son, Lewis, from Aquitaine to Aix-la-Chapelle, where, in the presence of a vast assemblage, he declared him his colleague and successor.[a] He exhorted the prince as to the duties of sovereignty, and received from

A.D. 813.

[a] The chief authorities for the reign of Lewis are in the lives by Thegan, a suffragan of Treves, and by an unknown writer, who, from his mention of conversations which he held with the emperor on astronomical subjects (c. 58), is styled the Astronomer. Both are in Pertz, ii., in Bouquet, vi., and in the 'Patrologia,' civ., cvi. The name *Ludwig* or *Louis* is the

him a promise of obedience to his precepts. He then desired Lewis to advance to the high altar, on which an imperial crown was placed, to take the crown, and with his own hands to set it on his head [b]—an act by which the emperor intended to assert that he and his posterity derived their title neither from coronation by the pope nor from the acclamations with which the ceremony in St. Peter's had been hailed by the Romans, but immediately from God.[c] After this inauguration, Lewis returned to the government of Aquitaine, but was soon again summoned to Aix-la-Chapelle, in consequence of his father's death, which took place in January 814.[d]

Lewis, at the time of his accession to the empire, was thirty-six years of age. In his infancy, he had been crowned by Pope Adrian as king of his native province, Aquitaine.[e] He had for many years governed that country, and had earned a high character for the justice

same with *Chlodowig* (*Clovis*), the harsh aspirate having been first softened, and then omitted. In like manner *Chlotachar* became *Lothair*. Sismondi, ii. 442.

[b] Einhard, Vita Kar. 30; Thegan, 6; Astron. 20; Funck's 'Ludwig der Fromme,' 41-5, Frankf. a. M. 1832.

[c] See Fleury, xlvi. 7; Gibbon, iv. 507; Luden, v. 227. The significance of the act was lost through the weakness of the great emperor's successors. Gregorov. iii. 18.

[d] Thegan, 8. Charlemagne was *beatified* by the antipope Paschal III., in 1165, at the instance of the emperor Frederick I. (Acta SS. Jan. 28, p. 504.) Lewis XI. of France, in 1474, ordered the celebration of his festival (Jean de Troyes, in Petitot, Sér. I. t. xiii. 453). Altars are dedicated to him at Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfort, and Zurich (Böhmer, Reg. Karol, 27). His name is not in the Roman calendar, but the local veneration of him is regarded by canonists as legalized, inasmuch as the sentence of the antipope has not been disallowed by any legitimate pope. (Baron. 814. 63; Acta SS. Jan. 28, p. 490; Butler's Lives of the Saints, Jan. 28; Pagi, xix. 271; Patrol. xcviii. 1357; see Gaston Paris, Hist. Poët. de Charlemagne, 59, seqq.) A hymn used at Aix on his festival may be found in Noppius's 'Aacher Chronick,' ed. 1651:—

> "Urbs Aquensis, urbs regalis,
> Regni sedes principalis," etc.
>
> * * * *
>
> "O rex, mundi triumphator,
> Jesu Christi conregnator,
> Sis pro nobis exorator,
> Sancte pater Carole."—(pp. 10-11.)

Some churches, however, as that of Metz, still have (or had in the last century) a yearly office for the repose of his soul (Fleury, xlvi. 9).

[e] Easter, 781; Astron. 4; Funck, 7.

and the ability of his administration. He was brave, learned, and accomplished; kind-hearted, gentle, and deeply religious.[f] But when from a subordinate royalty he was raised to the head of the empire, defects before unobserved began to appear in his character. His piety was largely tinctured with superstition; he had already thought it his duty to abjure the study of classic literature for such as was purely religious,[g] and, but for his father's prohibition, he would have become a monk like his great-uncle Carloman.[h] He was without resolution or energy, wanting in knowledge of men, and ready to become the victim of intrigues.[i]

In Aquitaine Lewis had been surrounded by a court of his own, and his old advisers continued to retain their authority with him.[k] The chief of these was Benedict of Aniane, whose rigid virtue could not fail to be scandalized by the licentiousness which, after Charlemagne's example, had increased in the imperial household during the last years of the late reign. This Lewis at once proceeded to reform by banishing from the court his sisters and their paramours, with other persons of notoriously light reputation.[l] Nor were the statesmen who had been associated with Charlemagne spared. Among these the most important were three brothers, related to the royal family—Adelhard, Wala, and Bernard.[m] Adelhard had in his youth left the court of Charlemagne in disgust at the divorce of the Lombard queen,[n] and had entered the monastery of Corbie, of which he became abbot. In later years he had

[f] Astron. 19; Sismondi, ii. 424-6; Palgrave, Norm. and England, i. 178.

[g] Thegan, 19.

[h] Astron. 19.

[i] Luden, v. 231; Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 187-8; Funck, 39.

[k] Thegan, 20.

[l] Astron. 21-3.

[m] The lives of Adelhard and Wala ('Epitaphium Arsenii') were written in the form of dialogue by Paschasius Radbert, whose work on the Eucharist will be mentioned in the next chapter. Both are in Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. v., and in Patrol. cxx. See also the Bollandist Acta SS. Jan. 2.

[n] Vita Adelh. 7-8.

acquired a powerful influence over the great emperor; he had been the principal counsellor of his son Pipin in the government of Italy, and in conjunction with Wala he had advised Charlemagne to name Pipin's son Bernard as heir of the empire, in preference to Lewis.[o] Adelhard and the youngest brother were banished; Count Wala was compelled to become a monk in the abbey from which Adelhard was removed; and thus was laid the foundation of a lasting enmity between the men of the old and those of the new reign.[p]

Leo III., dissatisfied (as it would seem) at the manner in which Lewis had received the crown, omitted to congratulate him on his accession, and did not exact from the Romans the usual oath of fidelity to the emperor.[q] The feuds which had once before endangered this pope's life broke out afresh shortly after the death of his protector. There were serious disorders and much bloodshed at Rome; and Leo took it on himself to punish some of his enemies with death—an act which Lewis regarded as an invasion of his own sovereignty. He therefore sent his nephew Bernard, king of Italy, to inquire into the matter on the spot; but the pope disarmed his indignation by submitting to give an explanation of his conduct.[r] Leo died in 816.[s] The wealth which he had at his disposal appears to have been enormous, and the papal librarian Anastasius fills many pages with an enumeration of the splendid gifts which it enabled him to bestow on his church.[t]

A.D. 815.

The Romans hastily chose as his successor Stephen IV., who was consecrated without any application for the emperor's consent.[u] Stephen felt the

June, 816.

[o] Vita Adelh. 16; Vita Walæ, ed. Mabill. pp. 453, seqq.; Funck, 42.

[p] Vita Adelh. 32-5; Vita Walæ, i. 2, 11; Funck, 48.

[q] Ib. 55.

[r] Einhard, A.D. 815; Astron. 25; Baron. 815. 1; Funck, 55.

[s] Pagi, xiii. 568. On his character, see Gregorov. iii. 26.

[t] As to his restorations of churches, see ib. 26-35.

[u] Einhard, A.D. 816.

necessity of apologizing for this irregularity, which he ascribed to the emergency of the time, when popular tumults were to be apprehended. He published a decree by which it was enacted that the consecration of future popes should be performed in the presence of imperial commissioners ;[x] and, after having made the citizens of Rome swear allegiance to Lewis, he himself went into France for the purpose of explanation and excuse,—perhaps also to secure himself from the violence of the Roman factions.[y] But the devout emperor did not wait for his submission.

Oct. 816. He met him at the distance of a mile from Reims; each dismounted from his horse, and Lewis thrice prostrated himself at the pope's feet before venturing to embrace him.[z] On the following Sunday, the pontiff placed on the head of Lewis a splendid crown which he had brought with him, and anointed both him and his empress Ermengarde.[a] Anastasius tells us that the honour paid to the pope almost exceeded the power of language to describe: that he obtained from the emperor whatever he desired; that, after our Lord's example of forgiveness, he pardoned all who in the time of Leo had been obliged to seek a refuge in France on account of offences against the church, and that they accompanied him on his return to Rome.[b] On the death of Stephen in the beginning of the following year (817), Paschal was immediately chosen and consecrated as his successor. The new pope sent a legation to assure the emperor that he "had been forced rather than had leapt into" his see; and his apology was accepted.[c]

Lewis was bent on effecting a reformation both in the

[x] Gratian. Decr. Pars I. d. lxiii. 28. (See notes in Patrol. cxix. 795 ; clxxxvii. 337 ; Jaffé, 221.)

[y] Thegan, 16 ; Milman, ii. 248.

[z] Thegan, 16 ; Astron. 26 ; Flodoard, ii. 19 (Patrol. cxxix.).

[a] Thegan, 17. Luden observes that the biographer does not, until after this coronation, give Lewis the title of emperor, v. 579.

[b] Anastas. 213 ; Astron. 26.

[c] Id. 27.

church and in the state. By means of his *missi* he redressed many grievances which had grown up under his father's government;[d] and in councils held at Aix in 816 and 817, he passed a great number of regulations for the reform of the clergy and of the religious societies.[e] The secular business in which bishops had been much employed by Charlemagne had not been without an effect on their character and on that of the inferior clergy, so that the condition of the church towards the end of the late reign had retrograded.[f] The canons now passed testify to the existence of many abuses. Their general tone is strict; they aim at securing influence and respect for the clergy by cutting off their worldly pomp, and by enforcing attention to their spiritual duties. The canonical life is regulated by a code enlarged from that of Chrodegang.[g] The acquisition of wealth by improper means is checked by an order that no bequest shall be accepted by churches or monasteries to the disinheriting of the testator's kindred, and that no one shall be tonsured either as a monk or as a clergyman for the sake of obtaining his property.[h] We find, however, complaints of the evils against which this canon was directed as well after its enactment as before.[i] Another important canon ordered that every parish priest should have a *mansus*, or glebe; that both the glebe and his other property should be discharged from all but ecclesiastical service;[k] and that when this provision should have been fulfilled, every parish, where there was a sufficient maintenance, should have a priest of its own.[l] Benedict of Aniane was

[d] Thegan, 13; Sismondi, ii. 432. The scheme of administration by *missi* had been very imperfectly carried out under Charlemagne. Stephen, i. 112.

[e] See Pertz, Leges, i. 201, seqq. Ellendorf, ii. 51-2.

[f] See p. 215.

[g] Capit. A.D. 817, c. 7. Ellendorf, ii. 58-62, gives quotations from Paschasius, Wettin, etc. The evil had been noted by the council of Châlons in 813, cc. 6-7.

[h] C. 10. The Astronomer says that a male and a female serf were also attached to each living, 28.

C. 11.

president of the assembly which was charged with the monastic reform. He recovered to their proper use many monasteries which had been alienated either to laymen or to secular clergy; and he obtained relief for many from the burdens of gifts to the crown and of military service,—burdens which had pressed so heavily on some of them that the remaining income had been insufficient even for food and clothing.[m] The rule of St. Benedict was taken as the basis of the new reforms; but the canons are marked by a punctilious minuteness very unlike its original spirit.[n]

These reforms were the work of the independent Frankish church, and were sanctioned by the supreme authority of the emperor, who exercised the same prerogative as his father in matters concerning religion.[o]

In the holy week of 817, as Lewis and his household were passing along a gallery which led from the palace to the church of Aix, the wooden pillars on which it rested gave way. The emperor suffered little hurt; but the accident suggested to his counsellors the possibility of his death, and the expediency of providing for that event.[p] By their advice he proposed the subject to the national assembly, and obtained its consent to the association of his eldest son, Lothair, as his colleague in the empire;[q] but this measure, which was intended for the preservation of peace, became the source of fatal divisions. The younger brothers, Pipin and Lewis, who held respectively a delegated sovereignty over Aquitaine and Germany,[r] were discontented at finding themselves placed in a new relation of inferiority towards their *senior*,[s] to whom

[m] Vita S. Ben. Anian. (Mabill. Acta SS. v.), 50, 54; Astron. 28.

[n] Guizot, ii. 317

[o] Ib. 318; Milman, ii. 249. Baronius, however, ventures to assert the contrary. 819. 11.

[p] Astron. 28.

[q] Funck, 62-3. It was not by primogeniture but by election that Lothair became emperor. Martin, ii. 373.

[r] Pagi, xiii. 539.

[s] This word, from meaning the eldest or head of a family, had come, as early as the time of Gregory of

they were bound to pay "gifts," and without whose consent they were not at liberty to make war or peace, to receive ambassadors or to marry.[t] But the elevation of Lothair was still more offensive to Bernard, son of the emperor's elder brother Pipin by a concubine. Bernard had been appointed by Charlemagne to succeed his father in the kingdom of Italy. The defect of his birth was not regarded by the Franks as a bar to inheritance; as it had not prevented his receiving an inferior royalty, it did not disqualify him for succeeding his grandfather in the empire;[u] and, as it was chiefly on the ground of maturer age that Lewis, the younger son of Charlemagne, had been preferred to the representative of the elder son, Bernard might have now expected on the same ground to be preferred to the children of Lewis.[x] The king of Italy had hitherto endeavoured, by a ready submission and compliance with his uncle's wishes in all things, to disarm the jealousy which the empress Ermengarde continually strove to instil into her husband's mind.[y] But he now yielded to the influence of the discontented party, of which Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, a Goth or Lombard by birth, and the bishops of Milan and Cremona, were the most active members, while Wala from his monastery zealously aided them by his counsels. The pope himself, Paschal, is said to have been implicated in their schemes.[z] But the emperor and his partisans made demonstrations which showed that any attempt to subvert the government would be hopeless. Bernard repaired to Châlons on the Saône —decoyed, according to some writers,[a] by the empress,

Tours, to bear the sense of *lord* or *master*, which its derivatives have in the Romance languages, and from the eighth century was used to denote a king or other superior in relation to his dependent *homines* (Perry, 400). Hincmar seems to object to this use of it as novel and improper, ii. 835.

[t] Divisio Imperii, cc. 7, 8, 13. (Pertz, Leges, i. 199.)

[u] See Funck, 42, 240, 243.

[x] Michelet, ii. 93; Luden, v. 262-3.

[y] Sismondi, ii. 436.

[z] Ellendorf, ii. 90.

[a] Sismondi, ii. 443-6; Funck, 65. Dean Milman (ii. 252) questions this

under a promise of forgiveness and safety. He confessed to his uncle his guilty designs, and after a trial was sentenced to death. The sentence was compassionately changed by Lewis to the loss of eyesight; but, whether from the cruelty with which the operation was performed, or from grief and despair, the unhappy Bernard died within three days.[b] Theodulf was deprived of his see, without any regard to his plea that, as having received the pall, he was subject to no jurisdiction except the pope's.[c] Lewis, now rendered suspicious of all his kindred, compelled three of his illegitimate brothers—of whom Drogo was afterwards creditably known as bishop of Metz—to be tonsured.[d]

The empress Ermengarde, whose zeal for the interest of her sons had been a principal cause of the late troubles, died shortly after. Lewis in his sorrow was disposed to resign his crown and become a monk. But the ecclesiastics whom he consulted dissuaded him; the daughters of his nobles were assembled for his

A.D. 819.

which he supposes to have no authority but that of Funck; but it is stated by an ancient chronicler, Andrew of Bergamo (c. 3, Patrol. cli.), and after him by Muratori (IV. iii. 302). Luden thinks it uncertain, but not unlikely. v. 265-6.

[b] Both reasons are given. Ermengarde is said to have instigated the cruelty. See Thegan, 22-3; Andr. Bergom. 8; Murat. IV. ii. 304; Sismondi, ii. 443-5; Funck, 66; Palgrave, i. 231. The Astronomer seems to mean that Bernard and another committed suicide—"Dum impatientius oculorum ablationem tulerunt, mortis sibi consciverunt acerbitatem" (30). See the various accounts in Luden, v. 268, and note.

[c] Theodulph. Carm. iv. 5 (Patrol. cv.); Funck, 68.

[d] Thegan, 24; Sismondi, ii. 445-6. To this time belongs the pretended date of a document known from its first words by the name of *Ego Ludovicus* (Pertz, Leges, ii. Append. 6), in which the emperor is represented as giving up a large part of Italy to the pope, and as ordering that no Frank, Lombard, or other person shall interfere in the appointment of popes. Sir F. Palgrave seems to regard it as genuine. (Norm. and England, i. 262, 727.) But it is generally considered a clumsy forgery—probably of the time of Gregory VII. (See Valla in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 153; Pagi, xiii. 591; Murat, Antiq. iii. 29; Schröckh, xxii. 44; Planck, ii. 779; Pertz, p. 9; Patrol. xcviii. 579; Gregorov. iii. 38-40; Janus, 150.) Pagi's candour in this matter is distressing to a later annotator on Baronius (xiii. 625), and to the Abbé Rohrbacher, xi. 404.

inspection, and he chose Judith, daughter of Welf I., count of Bavaria, to be the partner of his throne.[e] The new empress is described as not only beautiful, but possessed of learning and accomplishments unusual in the ladies of that age; and her power over her husband was absolute.[f]

In 821, on the marriage of Lothair, Theodulf, Wala, Adelhard, and the other accomplices of Bernard were forgiven [g]—an act of grace which has been traced to the removal of Benedict by death from the emperor's councils.[h] But Lewis was still disturbed by the remembrance of the severities which had been exercised in his name; the alarms of his conscience were increased by some reverses, by earthquakes, and other portents;[i] and at the diet of Attigny, in the following year, he appeared in the dress of a penitent. He lamented his own sins and the sins of his father. He expressed remorse for the death of Bernard—an act in which his only share had been that mitigation of the sentence which had been so unhappily frustrated in the execution. He entreated the forgiveness of Wala and Adelhard, who were present. He professed sorrow for his behaviour to Drogo and his brothers, and bestowed high ecclesiastical dignities on them by way of compensation. He gave large alms to monks, and entreated their prayers; and he issued a capitulary acknowledging his neglect of duty towards the church, and promising amendment of abuses.[k] Wala was sent into Italy, to act as adviser to Lothair, who had obtained that kingdom on the death of Bernard.[l]

A.D. 822.

On Easter-day 823, Lothair, who had gone to Rome

[e] Astron. 32; Thegan, 26; Einhard, A.D. 819.

[f] Michelet, ii. 96-7.

[g] Vita Adelh. 46; Astron. 34; Einh. A.D. 821; Pagi, xiv. 20-3. Theodulf died the same year. Pagi, 23.

[h] Funck, 71, 241; Gfrörer, iii. 727.

[i] Luden, v. 278.

[k] Capit. Attiniac. (Pertz, Leges, i. 231); Astron. 35; Vita Adelh. 51; Sismondi, ii. 453-5; Palgrave, i. 249. On this assembly, see Hefele, iv. 31

[l] Vita Walæ, i. 25.

on the invitation of Paschal,[m] was there crowned by the pope as emperor. He had already been crowned by his father, at the time of his elevation to a share in the empire; but Paschal, by persuading him to accept this second coronation, as an ecclesiastical sanction of his authority, carried on a chain of policy which resulted in persuading the world that sovereignty was derived from the gift of St. Peter's successors.

Soon after Lothair's departure from the city, two high officers of the church, who were among the chief of the emperor's Roman partisans, were decoyed into the Lateran palace, where—in punishment, as was believed, of their attachment to the Frank interest—they were blinded and afterwards beheaded.[n] Lewis, on hearing of this affair, sent a count and an abbot to investigate it. The pope appeared before the commissioners, and, with thirty-four bishops and five other clergymen, swore that he had no share in the death of the victims. But he maintained that they had deserved it as traitors; and he refused to give up the murderers, on the ground that they had sought the protection of St. Peter and belonged to the apostle's family. The commissioners, having no authority to use force, reported the circumstances to their master, and Paschal at the same time sent some envoys to offer explanations. The emperor did not pursue the matter further; but he resolved to place his relations with Rome on a more satisfactory footing.[o]

An opportunity was soon furnished in consequence of Paschal's death, which took place in May, 824.[p] A severe

[m] Astron. 36; Einhard, A.D. 823. Paschasius untruly says that Lewis *sent* his son to be crowned at Rome. See Ellendorf, ii. 26.

[n] Astron. 37; Einh. A.D. 823. See Luden, v. 253.

[o] Einh. A.D. 823; Astron. 37-8; Funck, 76-7; Sismondi, ii. 458-9.

[p] Paschal was so detested by the Romans that they would not allow him to be buried with his predecessors; but Eugenius ordered the body to be interred in a place which Paschal had prepared. (Thegan, 30.) Funck supposes that by *populus* Thegan here means the *nobility* of Rome. 78, 251.

contest arose for the papacy. Lothair again went to Rome, and asserted the Frankish sovereignty by acknowledging Eugenius II., the candidate who was supported by Wala's influence,[q] as the rightful successor of St. Peter.[r] The young emperor complained of the late murder of his adherents. He inquired why the popes and the Roman judges were continually spoken against. He discovered that many pieces of land had been wrongfully seized by the popes (perhaps under the pretence that they were legacies to the church), and caused great joy by restoring them to the rightful owners. He settled that, "according to ancient custom," imperial commissioners should visit Rome at certain times for the general administration of justice.[s] He exacted of the Romans individually an oath of fealty to the empire, saving their faith to the pope. He enacted that no person should interfere with their right of electing a bishop; but he bound them by an engagement that they would not allow any one to be consecrated as pope until he should have sworn allegiance to the emperor in the presence of an imperial commissioner.[t] Although this engagement was in the sequel sometimes neglected or evaded, the report of Lothair's proceedings is evidence of the ideas which were then entertained as to the relations of the papacy and the empire. It was considered that the emperor was entitled to investigate elections to the Roman see, and to decide between the pretensions of candidates; and, while the pope was the immediate lord of Rome, his power was held under the emperor, to whom the supreme control of the administration belonged.[u]

[q] Vita Walæ, i. 28. He was the candidate of the party opposed to Lewis. Luden, v. 295.

[r] Baron. 824. 12. Pagi (xiii. 60, 93) points out that Lothair acted as sovereign, not as protector of the church.

[s] Einh. A.D. 824; Astron. 38.

[t] Pertz, Leges, i. 240; Milman, ii. 236.

[u] Murat. IV. ii. 330-2; Luden, v. 298; Funck, 81; Gregorov. iii. 66-7.

After four years of childless marriage, Judith in 823 gave birth to a son, Charles, afterwards known as "the Bald." The jealousy of the emperor's sons by Ermengarde was excited; they declared Charles to be the offspring of adultery, and charged Judith with bewitching their father.[x] The empress, on her part, was bent on securing for her son an inheritance like that of his elder brothers, and in 829 he was created duke of Germany—probably in the vain hope that such a title would give less offence than the title of king.[y] Lewis, under the influence of his wife, laboured to buy partisans for Charles by profuse gifts from the hereditary domains of his family and from the property of the church.[z] On this account he had been bitterly attacked by Wala at a diet held in 828;[a] and when his elder sons now broke out into rebellion, they were aided by a powerful party of the hierarchy, headed by Wala (who in 826 had succeeded Adelhard in the abbacy of Corbie),[b] with the archchaplain Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, Jesse, bishop of Amiens, and Elissachar, abbot of Centulles.[c] Of the motives of these ecclesiastics it is difficult to judge. They may have honestly felt the dangers which threatened the empire from the system of partition which had been introduced;[d] they may have been galled by the imperial control of ecclesiastical affairs, as well as by the invasions of church property. But the pretentions to superiority over the crown which now began to be asserted in their councils are startling,[e] and the conduct by which they followed up their theories was utterly indefensible.

[x] Sismondi, ii. 467.
[y] Funck, 101.
[z] Ib. 98-9.
[a] Vita Walæ, ii. 2-3.
[b] Pagi, xiv. 118.
[c] Thegan, 36; Ellendorf, ii. 105.
[d] Vita Walæ, ii 10.
[e] In 829, councils were held at Paris, Mentz, Lyons, and Toulouse (Hard. iv. 1272), and their decrees were consolidated by a fifth assembly at Worms (Pertz, Leges, i. 332, seqq.). Their views as to the right of controlling the sovereign may be seen in book ii. of the Parisian council, or in Pertz, Leges, i. 346.

Judith was caught by the insurgents at Laon, and was pursued by the curses of the people into a convent at Poitiers, where she was compelled to take the veil.[f] A.D. 830. She was also forced to engage that she would use her influence over her husband to persuade him to enter a monastery. But the inclination which Lewis had formerly felt towards the monastic life was now mastered by his love for Judith and her son. He asked time for consideration ;[g] in spite of all opposition he contrived that the next national assembly should not be held in Gaul, where the population were generally disaffected to the Frankish rulers, but at Nimeguen, where he might hope to be supported by the kindred and friendly Germans ;[h] and the event answered his expectation. At Nimeguen the emperor found himself restored to power. Hilduin, who had ventured to transgress an order that the members of the diet and their followers should appear unarmed, was banished ; and a like sentence was passed on Wala, with others of his party.[i] Lothair (who had rebelled after having sworn to maintain the young Charles in his dukedom), with characteristic meanness, made his submission, abandoned his accomplices, and joined in giving judgment against them.[k] Judith was brought forth from her convent, the pope having declared that her forced profession was null.[l] She undertook to prove by ordeal her innocence of the witchcraft and adultery imputed to her, but, as no accuser appeared, she was allowed to purge herself by oath ; and Bernard, count of Septimania, her supposed paramour, on offering to clear himself by the wager of battle, found no one to accept his challenge.[m] Some of those who had been most hostile

[f] Sismondi, iii. 6-7.
[g] Astron. 44 ; Funck, 109.
[h] Sismondi, iii. 9-10 ; Stephen, ii. 117.
[i] Funck, 113.
[k] Astron. 45.
[l] Thegan, 37.
[m] Ib. 38. Against Bernard, see the Life of Wala, ii. 7.

to Lewis in his distress were condemned to death; but, with his usual gentleness, he allowed them to escape with slighter punishments.[n]

Again and again Judith's eagerness for the interest of her own son, and the jealousy of the elder brothers, brought trouble on the unhappy Lewis, who seems to have fallen into a premature decay. A fresh insurrection took place in 832, in consequence of Charles' advancement to the kingdom of Aquitaine. The pope, Gregory IV., who partly owed his dignity to the influence of Wala and Hilduin, crossed the Alps, and appeared in the camp of the rebels, where Wala and the other ecclesiastical chiefs of the party waited on him. Lewis was supported by many bishops, who, on a report that the pope meant to excommunicate them and the emperor, declared that, if he had come with such intentions, he himself should be deposed and excommunicated.[o] An answer which Gregory issued, and which was probably written by Paschasius,[p] one of Wala's monks, had no effect; and he began to show uneasiness and discontent with the part which he had undertaken, when Wala and Paschasius reassured him by producing a collection of canons and decretals, which were intended to prove that the pope had the right to judge all causes, and could himself be judged by no man.[q] It seems to have been at this time[r] that Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, sent forth two tracts—the one, a comparison between hierarchical and secular authority; the other, a defence of the

A.D. 833.

[n] Astron. 46.

[o] Ib. 48; Vita Walæ, ii. 16; Greg. Ep. ad Episcopos, ap. Bouquet, vi. 353. The genuineness of this letter has been questioned. Bouquet (252) considers that it is established by De Marca (l. iv. c. 11). Luden is against it. v. 608.

[p] This letter also is questioned. See Jaffé, 227, who dates it July 8, after the "Field of Lies."

[q] Vita Walæ, ii. 16. Luden (v. 610) and Gfrörer (Karolinger, i. 81) argue that these must have been something unknown at Rome—the elements of the forged decretals which soon after appeared.

[r] Funck, 132; Ellendorf, ii. 118.

rebel princes. In the first of these, he insists on the superiority of the ecclesiastical power; he utters many reproaches against the emperor, and exhorts him to submit to the pope. "If, indeed, pope Gregory had come without reason, and for the purpose of fighting, he would deserve to be opposed and driven back;[s] but if he came for peace, he ought to be obeyed." In the other pamphlet, Agobard charges Judith with gross and notorious profligacy; he justifies the proceedings of the emperor's sons; and, as a precedent for the part taken by himself and his brethren, he alleges the opposition which the priests and prophets of Israel offered to Jezebel and Athaliah.[t] He tells the emperor that Samson, for his love to an unchaste and unbelieving woman, lost his eyes and his judgeship; he exhorts him, since he has thus far been like Samson in the loss of his power, to study that, like him, he may escape the forfeit of his eternal portion by humbly and patiently submitting to his lot.[u]

On St. John Baptist's day, the two armies encamped opposite to each other near Colmar. Gregory paid a visit to the emperor, who received him without the usual marks of respect;[x] but they afterwards exchanged presents, and the pope continued to pass from the one camp to the other. Arguments, threats, money, and other inducements were employed to influence the adherents of Lewis; and, on the morning of St. Peter and St. Paul's day, he found that all but a handful of his men had deserted him during the night. On discovering his forlorn condition, he professed himself unwilling to be the cause of bloodshed; he advised those of his followers who could

June 24, 833.

June 29.

[s] "Certe si nunc Gregorius papa irrationabiliter et ad pugnandum venit, pugnatus et repulsus recedet." De Compar. utriusque regiminis, 6. (Agob Opera, t. ii.)

[t] Lib. Apolog. pro filiis Ludovici, 11.

[u] Cc. 12-13.

[x] Astron. 48; Vita Walæ, ii. 17

expect no mercy from the rebels to save themselves by flight, desired the others to follow the example of the majority, and gave himself up as a prisoner to his sons.[y] The pope is said to have returned to Italy in deep grief and shame on account of his share in these transactions,[z] while the popular feeling with respect to them was shown by the name given to the scene where they took place—*Lügenfeld*, "the Field of Lies."[a]

Judith, for whose safety in life and limb the successful rebels had pledged themselves by oath, was sent across the Alps to Tortona,[b] while Charles was shut up in the abbey of Prüm, and Lewis was led about as a captive by his eldest son. But Lothair and his advisers soon became aware that a general feeling of pity was rising in favour of the unfortunate emperor;[c] and they resolved to defeat it by an act which was intended to disqualify him for reigning. At a diet held at Compiègne, a bishop (probably Agobard)[d] begged Lothair's permission that a representation should be made to Lewis of the misdeeds by which he had lowered the empire of the great Charles. There was little show of opposition to the proposal;[e] Lewis in his captivity was importuned to become a monk by a number of bishops, among whom Thegan tells us that the most active were some of servile or barbaric birth,—above all, "shameless and most cruel," Ebbo of Reims, who had turned against the emperor at the Field of Lies; and, as their solicitations were in vain, they resolved to proceed by other means.[f] In an indictment of eight heads, drawn up with much iteration, and partly relating to offences for which he had already done penance at Attigny, he was charged with acts of violence towards

[y] Thegan, 42; Astron. 48.
[z] Ib.; Nithard in Patrol. cxvi. 48.
[a] Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 290-1.
[b] Thegan, 42.
[c] Astron. 49.
[d] Funck, 156.
[e] Astron. 49.
[f] Thegan, 43-4. See Luden, v. 363-4.

his kinsmen—the death of Bernard, the tonsuring of Drogo and his brothers; with frequent breach of oaths, especially as to the partition of the empire; with having violated the rest of holy seasons by military expeditions and by holding courts or diets; with outrages and injustice against many of his subjects; with having caused waste of life and an infinite amount of misery through the calamities of war.[g] The bishops assumed the right of judging the emperor. They condemned him in his absence, declared him to be deprived of earthly power, and, in order to prevent the loss of his soul, they sentenced him to do penance before the relics of St. Medard and St. Sabinian at Soissons.[h] He was strictly guarded in a cell until the day appointed for the ceremony, when he was led forth, not as a sovereign, but as a sinful Christian desirous of showing penitence for his offences. Lothair was present, with a large body of bishops and clergy, and the cathedral was filled by a crowd of spectators.[i] The emperor, clothed in sackcloth, prostrated himself before the altar; he acknowledged that he had been guilty of misgovernment, offensive to God, scandalous to the church, and disastrous to his people; and he professed a wish to do penance, that he might obtain absolution for his misdeeds. The bishops told him that a sincere confession would be followed by forgiveness, and exhorted him that he should not, as on the former occasion, attempt to hide any part of his sin. The list of charges against him was put into his hands; with a profusion of tears he owned himself guilty of all; and he gave up the document, to be placed on the altar as a record of his repentance. He then laid down his sword and his military belt; he was stripped of the secular dress which he had worn under

October.

[g] Acta Exauctorationis, Bouquet, v. 243-6, or Pertz, Leges, i. 366.

[h] Bouquet, 244; Astron. 49.

[i] Acta, ap. Bouquet, 244.

his sackcloth ; and after these acts it was pretended that, according to the ancient canons, he was incapable of returning to the exercise of arms or of sovereign power.[k] Every bishop who had been concerned in the affair drew up a memoir of it, which he gave into the hands of Lothair.[l]

But the projectors of this humiliation were mistaken in their hopes. Compassion for the emperor and indignation against those who had outraged him under the pretence of religion were almost universal. His younger sons, Pipin and Lewis, took his part, and Lothair, alarmed by the tokens of the general feeling, hastily withdrew from St. Denys, leaving his father at liberty. Friends speedily gathered around Lewis ; he was advised to resume his military ornaments, but refused to do so unless with the formal sanction of the church. He was therefore solemnly reconciled in the abbey of St. Denys ; his belt and sword were restored to him by some of the same bishops who had been concerned in his degradation ; it was declared that a penitent who had laid down his belt might resume it on the expiration of his penance ; and the popular joy at the emperor's restoration drew encouragement from a sudden change of the weather, which had long been boisterous and ungenial.[m]

In February 835 a council was held at Thionville, where eight archbishops and thirty-three bishops condemned their brethren who had shared in the proceedings at Compiègne and Soissons. Among these delinquents the most noted was Ebbo, a man of servile birth, who had been

[k] Sismondi, iii. 30. "Contrarium est omnino ecclesiasticis regulis post pœnitentiæ actionem redire ad militiam sæcularem, cum apostolus dicat, *Nemo militans Deo implicat se sæcularibus negotiis* (II Tim. ii. 4)." Decret. Leonis M. c. 24. ap. Dion. Exig. Patrol. lxvii. 290. Cf. Conc. Tolet. XII. A.D. 681, c. 2 ; Ducange, s. v. *Gladii deditio.*

[l] Acta, ap. Bouquet, v. 246. Agobard's paper is given there, and in his Works, ii. 73.

[m] Thegan, 45-8 ; Astron. 51 ; Annal. Bertin. A.D. 834 ; Funck, 143-50.

foster-brother of Lewis, and like other low-born clerks, had been promoted by him with a view of counterbalancing the aristocratic prelates who aimed at independence of the crown.[n] Ebbo was a man of learning, and had laboured as a missionary among the northern tribes;[o] but his behaviour towards his benefactor had been conspicuously ungrateful.[p] His treason had been rewarded by Lothair with a rich abbey, and, when the cause of Lewis again became triumphant, he had fled, with all the wealth that he could collect, in the hope of finding a refuge among the Northmen.[q] He was, however, overtaken, and, after having for some time been detained in the monastery of Fulda, he was compelled to ascend the pulpit of a church at Metz, where, in the presence of Lewis, and of the assembled bishops, clergy, and laity, he acknowledged that all the late proceedings against the emperor were unjust and sinful. At Thionville he wrote and subscribed a profession of his own unworthiness; he was deposed from his see, and remained in monastic custody or in exile until the death of Lewis. Other bishops who had taken part against the emperor were gently treated on confessing their guilt, while Agobard, who did not appear, was condemned for his contumacy.[r]

Lothair was deprived of the imperial title, and was confined to the kingdom of Italy.[s] But Judith afterwards found it expedient to make overtures to him, and a partition—the last of the partitions which attest the

[n] Flodoard, Hist. Rem. ii. 19 (Patrol. cxxxv.); Milman, ii. 261. Ebbo was promoted instead of Giselmar, a man of noble family, who had been nominated to the see, but was found unable to read. Hist. Litt. v. 100.

[o] See below, c. iv. sect. 7.

[p] He is the especial object of Thegan's abhorrence. See above, p. 267. In relating the penance of Soissons, the biographer apostrophizes Ebbo, and reproaches him with clothing in sackcloth the prince who had clothed *him* in purple, etc. c. 44.

[q] Flodoard, ii. 40.

[r] Annal. Bertin. A.D. 835; Clerici Remenses (Patrol. cxvi. 18); Flodoard, ii. 20; Hincmar, i. 324-7; Thegan, 56; Astron. 54.

[s] Sismondi, iii. 36.

difficulties and the weakness of Lewis—was made in 839, by which Pipin, the emperor's grandson, was to be excluded from inheriting his father's kingdom of Aquitaine; and, with the exception of Bavaria, which was left to the younger Lewis, the whole empire was to be shared between Lothair and Charles.[t] To the last the reign of Lewis was distracted by the enmities of his sons, who had alike cast away all filial and all brotherly regards. He died on the 20th of June 840, in an island of the Rhine opposite Ingelheim, when engaged in an expedition against his son Lewis of Germany. On his death-bed he received the consolations of religion from his illegitimate brother Drogo, bishop of Metz. His last words, "Out! Out!" were interpreted as an adjuration commanding the evil spirit to depart.[u]

During the earlier years of this reign, the fame of Charlemagne continued to invest the empire with dignity in the eyes of foreign nations, and Lewis himself carried on successful war in various directions.[x] But the dissensions of the Franks afterwards exposed them to enemies from without. The Northmen, whose first appearances on the coast had filled the mind of Charlemagne with gloomy forebodings,[y] advanced up the Scheld in 820.[z] In 835, they burnt the great trading city of Dorstadt, with its fifty-four churches;[a] and their ravages were felt on the banks of the Loire and elsewhere. To the south, the Saracens were a no less formidable foe; in 838 they plundered Marseilles, and carried off its monks and clergy as prisoners.[b] And on the east, the Slavonic

[t] Astron. (Patrol. civ. 973); Prudentius, A.D. 839 (ib. cxv. 1387); Palgrave, i. 306.

[u] *Huz, huz,* equivalent to the modern German *aus.* (Astron. 63-4.) Luden (v. 400) supposes the meaning to be *Es ist aus,* "It is over." Lewis the German had in 874 a vision, in which his father begged him in Latin to obtain his release from purgatory. Annal. Fuld. (Pertz, i. 387.)

[x] Funck, 66 9.

[y] Monach. Sangallen. ii. 14.

[z] Sismondi, ii. 449.

[a] Palgrave, i. 297.

[b] Sismondi, iii. 41-2.

nations had taken advantage of the Frankish contests to make inroads on the imperial territory. The dangers which thus threatened the empire on various sides became yet more serious under the successors of Lewis.

II. Although the decision of the second Nicene council had been established as law in the eastern empire, the conformity to it which was enforced was in many cases insincere. A considerable party among the bishops and clergy was opposed to the worship of images; and in the army, the enthusiasm with which the memory of the martial iconoclastic emperors was cherished was usually accompanied by an attachment to their opinions.[c]

Leo V., "the Armenian," who in 813 became emperor by the deposition of Michael Rhangabe, was, by the influence both of his early training and of his military associations, opposed to the worship of images.[d] His enemies speak of him by the name of *Chame*leon,[e] on account of the insincere and changeable character which they impute to him; but even they allow that he was a man of unusual energy, and of abilities which fitted him to sustain the declining empire.[f] The patriarch Nicephorus—not (it would seem) from suspicion, but merely in compliance with custom—required him on his elevation to subscribe a profession of faith; but Leo desired that the matter should be deferred until after his coronation, and, when the application was then renewed, he refused.[g]

Like other adventurers who rose to the possession of empire (and probably like a far greater number in whom the promise was not fulfilled), Leo had in early life been

[c] Schlosser, 405; Neand. vi. 263.

[d] Schlosser, 393.

[e] Theoph. Contin. (*i.e.* an anonymous continuator of Theophanes) in vol. ix. of the Byzantine historians, ed. Paris, p. 439. Vita Nicephori, 30 (Patrol. Gr. c.); Georgius Monachus, de Leone, i. 3.

[f] Cedren. 490.

[g] Const. Porphyrog. i. 17; Vita Niceph. 32-3; Walch, x. 667; Finlay, ii. 134. The continuator of Theo-

told that he was destined to become emperor. Hence he derived an inclination to believe in prophecies; and a monk, who, by a rare exception to the feeling of his class, was adverse to the cause of images, now assured him of a long and glorious reign if he would suppress the worship of them, while he threatened him with calamity in case of his acting otherwise.[h] The words produced their effect on Leo; and he was further influenced by a comparison between the prosperous reigns of the iconoclastic emperors and the misfortunes of those who had followed an opposite policy.[i] He resolved to take the Isaurian Leo and his son for his examples; but, before proceeding to action, he wished to assure himself as to the grounds of his cause. He therefore desired Antony, bishop of Sylæum in Pamphylia, John "the Grammarian," and other ecclesiastics, to abridge for his information the acts of Constantine's iconoclastic synod,[k] and to collect authorities from the fathers against the adoration of images.[l] He then opened the matter to Nicephorus, urging that the disasters of the empire were popularly ascribed to the worship of images—an assertion which ought perhaps to be taken as representing the feeling of the soldiery alone; and he proposed that such as were placed low[m] and within reach should be removed.[n] The patriarch refused his consent; on which the emperor asked him to produce any scriptural warrant in favour of images.[o] Nicephorus replied that the worship of these,

A.D. 814.

phanes states that he promised to make no innovations as to religion (431). It is said that when the patriarch at the coronation touched the head of Leo, his hands were wounded by the emperor's hair, which felt like thorns or thistles—an awful omen of what was to follow. Const. Porph. i. 18.

[h] Const. Porph. i. 15-16; Cedren. 486-9; Hard. iv. 1045; Walch, x. 593; Schlosser, 405-6. The accounts of these prophecies vary greatly Walch is inclined to reject the whole story. x. 624, 662-4.

[i] Theoph. Cont. 415.

[k] See p. 57.

[l] Theoph. Cont. 436; Schlosser, 406-7.

[m] Τὰ χαμηλὰ. See Neand. vi. 265.

[n] Theoph. Cont. 437.

[o] Walch remarks that Leo did not

like many other unwritten things, was matter of apostolical tradition, and had been taught to the church by the Holy Ghost; that it would be as reasonable to ask for scriptural proof in favour of reverencing the cross or the gospels. And on being desired to argue the question with Antony and John, or to refute the authorities which they had produced against his views, he declined, on the ground that he must have nothing to do with heretics.[p]

Nicephorus and his partisans — clergy, monks, and laity—now held nightly meetings in the cathedral, where they engaged in prayer for the frustration of the emperor's designs, and bound themselves to stand by the cause of images even to the death.[q] On hearing of these assemblies, Leo in the dead of night sent for the patriarch, and the question was discussed at great length.[r] Nicephorus repeated his declaration as to the unlawfulness of holding conference with heretics,[s] and after a time asked leave to introduce his friends, who had accompanied him to the palace, and during his conference with the emperor had been waiting without the gates.[t] Of these the most prominent was Theodore, a priest, and abbot of a monastery in the capital, which had been founded by Studius, a noble Roman, and was better known by a name derived from his than by that of its patron, St. John the Baptist.[u] Theodore was a nephew of the abbot

take his stand on the Old Testament prohibitions, as the partisans of images had been accustomed to evade these; but that he asked for a New Testament *precept*. x. 696.

[p] Theoph. Cont. 437; Schlosser, 407. Nicephorus wrote a chronicle which is highly praised by Photius (Cod. 66), and has often been cited in the preceding pages. His Life and Remains (which include discourses of great length in favour of images) are in the Patrol. Gr. vol. c. See also vol. i. of the 'Spicilegium Solesmense,' and the Acta SS., Mart. 13.

[q] Theoph. Cont. 439; Walch, x. 672-3.

[r] Theoph. Cont. 438; Vita Niceph 37-53.

[s] See Baron. 814. 9; Neand. v 268-9.

[t] Vita Niceph. 54-5.

[u] For Theodore the Studite, see Schröckh, xxiii. 105. His remains, with a Life by his disciple Michael, form the v^th volume of Sirmond's

Plato, who had excommunicated Constantine VI., on account of his second marriage,[x] and had vehemently opposed Tarasius for his compliance with the emperor's will in that affair. Theodore himself had taken part with his uncle; he had endured exile and other severities in punishment of his contumacy, and had incurred fresh penalties under the reign of Nicephorus, when some questions connected with Constantine's marriage were revived.[y] Under his care, the Studite community had increased the number of its members from about twelve to nearly a thousand; the strictness of its discipline had acquired for it an eminence above all other Greek monasteries;[z] and the abbot's character and sufferings had won for him an influence which made him important even in the eyes of the sovereign. Theodore took up the cause of images with all his characteristic zeal. There were, indeed, among its partisans some extravagances so violent that he felt himself obliged to reject and censure them;[a] but he himself went so far as to eulogize a high official for employing an image as sponsor for a child.[b] He held that

A.D. 795-6.

A.D. 808.

'Opera Varia,' Venet. 1728, and are more fully given in the Patrol. Gr. vol. xcix.

[x] Vita Theod. c. 20. See p. 139. G. Hamartolus says that Theodote, the second wife of Constantine, was related to Theodore (cclvii. 14). There is a curious letter by Theodore, written towards the end of his life, in which he explains why Constantine might be stigmatized as a *Herod*, on account of his marriage, and yet might be commemorated as an orthodox emperor. Ep. ii. 218.

[y] Vita, 22, 43-5; Theod. Laudatio Platonis, 31, 35; Ep. i. 21, 28; Narratio de Schismate Studitarum (Patrol. Gr. xcix.); Cedren. 477-8; Baron. 795-6, 808-9; Walch, x. 659.

[z] Vita, 14, 28, seqq.

[a] Thus, one of his letters (i. 15) is addressed to a stylite who had painted angels crucified, and the Saviour and angels as in old age. He finds it necessary to lay down repeatedly that the worship to be paid to images is not properly *latreutic*, but *relative* (σχετική), and that any other is idolatrous (Epp. ii. 85, 151, 161, 167, 212); and he ends his first dialogue (Antirrheticus, i. p. 83) by declaring, "If any one, carrying to excess the reverrence of Christ's image, say that he does not approach it, and would get no benefit from it, unless he were first cleansed from all sin, he is without reason" (ἄλογος—a variation from the preceding denunciations, of which each ends—" he is a heretic").

[b] Ep. i. 17

images were not for the unlearned only, but were necessary for the most advanced Christian;[c] that a reverence for them was necessary in order to a right faith in the Incarnation. If images were suppressed, he said, "our preaching is vain, and your faith is also vain."[d]

On being admitted into the emperor's presence, Theodore entered on the subject of images with great vehemence.[e] He reproached Leo for innovating in matters of religion, and reminded him of the fate which had befallen emperors who had been enemies of the faith. The Old Testament prohibitions of images, he said, are abolished by the incarnation: if the law of Moses were to be regarded, how is it that we worship the cross, which the law speaks of as accursed?—and he urged the other usual topics of his party. The emperor told him that his insolence was notorious, but that, if he wished for the glory of martyrdom, he would be disappointed.[f] Theodore rejoined that the imperial power was limited to external matters; that, according to St. Paul, God had "set in the church first apostles, then prophets, and afterwards teachers," but that nothing was said of emperors; that the emperor was bound to obey in matters of religion, and not to usurp the office of others.[g] "Do you exclude me from the church?" asked Leo. "It is not I," the monk replied, "but the apostle; nay rather, it is you who by your deeds have excluded yourself." The emperor desired that Antony of Sylæum might be released from the excommunication which Nicephorus had pronounced against him; but this was refused, and at length Leo in anger dismissed the patriarch and his party. On leaving the palace Theodore was enthusiastically kissed by his companions, and

[c] Ep. ii. 171.
[d] Vita 64 (I Cor xv 14).
[e] His speech is in the Life, 65-72.
[f] Ib. 73.
[g] Ib. 74; G. Hamart. cclxii. 9.

was greeted with demonstrations of the warmest admiration on account of the stand which he had made.[h]

Leo now desired the friends of images to give up their meetings, to remain quietly at home, and to refrain from discussing the subjects which were in question ; and he required them to bind themselves by a written promise of obedience. Some complied ; but before Nicephorus had signified his intentions, Theodore sent forth a violent circular addressed to all the monks of the empire,[i] censuring the patriarch for his neglect to take more decided measures against the emperor, and threatening with eternal punishment all who should desert the cause of images. He kept up a lively agitation by means of letters, visits, and conversations,[k] and vehemently asserted the cause of images, in verse as well as in prose. The chief of his productions are three tracts which bear the title of "Antirrhetics"—the first two in the form of dialogue between an orthodox man and a heretic ; the third, consisting of the iconoclastic objections with a triumphant answer to each of them.

The emperor's opposition to images was not extreme. He did not wish to destroy them, or even to remove such as might be retained without superstition ; nor did he desire to disturb the convictions of those who were attached to them, if they would consent to extend a like toleration to others.[l] But the vehemence of Theodore and his party, who regarded the worship of images as an inseparable consequence of a right faith in the incarnation, provoked Leo to measures of great severity. The soldiery, without waiting for a legal warrant (yet perhaps incited by the emperor, as his enemies asserted), broke out into tumult, and rushed to

Dec. 814.

[h] Vita, 75.
[i] Ep. ii. 2.
[k] Vita, 76 ; Schlosser, 411-12.
[l] Walch, x. 694 ; Neand. v. 270-5 ; Findlay, ii. 130.

the brazen gate, where the image of "the Surety," so famous in an earlier stage of the controversy,[m] had been reinstated by Irene. They uttered much abusive language, and pelted the figure with dirt and stones; whereupon the emperor removed it, under the pretence of rescuing it from such indignities, and issued a commission for taking down images in general, wherever it could be done with safety.[n] Images were broken, burnt, or bedaubed with clay and filth.[o] Many refractory bishops, abbots, and others, were ejected and banished; among the sufferers was the chronicler Theophanes, who died in the island of Samothrace.[p]

At Christmas 814, the emperor went in state to St. Sophia's, having previously satisfied Nicephorus that no disorder was to be apprehended by drawing a picture from his bosom and kissing it. He advanced to the altar, and kissed the altar-cloth, which was embroidered with a representation of the Saviour's nativity.[q] But when, in the course of the service, a denunciation of idolatry was read from Isaiah,[r] one of the clergy stept forth, and, addressing the emperor, told him that God, by the prophet's words, commanded him to proceed firmly in his measures for the suppression of image-worship.[s]

Nicephorus fell seriously ill, and it was hoped that his death would spare the emperor the necessity of proceeding against him. But he recovered, and, as all attempts to treat with him were fruitless, he was deprived, and was

[m] See p. 45.

[n] Theoph. Cont. 438; Schlosser, 412.

[o] Vita Theod. 77.

[p] Vita I., cc. 27-8, in Acta SS., Mart. 12; Cedren. 489; Baron. 816. 1-4; Schlosser, 411.

[q] Theoph. Cont. 439; Schlosser, 412-13. He omitted this when he next attended the cathedral. Walch supposes that he had done it out of custom, and refrained on finding that his act was misconstrued. x. 675.

[r] C. xl. 18, seqq.

[s] See the various accounts in Walch, x. 665. Cedrenus (490) places the scene in the patriarchate of Theodotus; some say that Theodotus was himself the speaker (as Const. Porph. i. 20); others name John the Grammarian. Walch, x. 618, 628.

shut up in a monastery, where he lived fourteen years longer.[t] John the Grammarian was proposed as his successor, but was rejected as wanting in birth and in age ;[u] and the patriarchate was bestowed on Theodotus Cassiteras, a layman connected with the family of the Isaurian emperors, and the supposed prompter of the monk by whose prophecies Leo had been induced to attempt the suppression of image-worship.[x] Theodotus, who is described by his opponents as "a man without reason, more dumb than the fishes, and ignorant of everything but impiety,"[y] gave great offence to the monastic party by his free and secular habits of life.[z] He assembled a synod, which confirmed the judgments of the iconoclastic council of 754, and annulled those of the second Nicene council.[a] The most eminent abbots had been summoned to take part in the assembly; but Theodore in their name sent a refusal in his usual vehement strain, condemning all who should attend, and declaring that he would not share in or regard any measures which might be taken without the consent of the lawful patriarch Nicephorus.[b] In defiance of the imperial order against the public exhibition of images, he caused his monks on Palm Sunday to carry in solemn procession all those which belonged to the monastery, and to chant a hymn which began with the words, "We adore thine undefiled image."[c]

April, 816.

The emperor, greatly provoked by this daring contumacy, sent Theodore into banishment, where he remained for seven years.[d] He was removed from one place to

[t] Vita Niceph. 59, sqq. ; Theoph. Cont. 440-1 ; Schlosser, 414-15. It is uncertain whether his deprivation was sanctioned by a council. Walch, x. 679, 686.

[u] Theoph. Cont. 441.

[x] Symeon Magist. de Leone, 3. b, Walcx. 655

[y] Sym. Magist. de Leone, 6 ; G. Hamart. clxii. 2.

[z] Vita Niceph. 73 ; Theoph. Cont. 441 ; Schröckh, xxiii. 362-3.

[a] Vita Nic. 73; Walch. x. 691-3.

[b] Vita Theod. 79-80.

[c] Ib. 78.

[d] Ib. 81-102 ; Vita Nicolai (Theo-

another; he was often cruelly scourged, even to the danger of his life; his wounds were undressed, nor, when he fell seriously ill, could he obtain any attendance or relief;[e] he suffered from want of food; he was imprisoned for three years in a loathsome subterranean dungeon, and was often threatened with death.[f] But his resolution rose with the severity of his treatment. He declared that he would bear whatever might be inflicted on him, but that nothing should reduce him to silence.[g] He found means of writing and of circulating letters which sustained the determination of his party; he denounced the emperor as a Pharaoh and a Nebuchadnezzar, an enemy of the Saviour and of His virgin mother; and the increased punishment which he drew on himself by each offence served only to stimulate him to greater violence.[h] He wrote to the bishop of Rome, to the three eastern patriarchs, and to the heads of some important monasteries, representing the oppressions of the church in the most moving terms, and earnestly praying for sympathy.[i]

Paschal, who had just been raised to the papacy, refused to admit the imperial envoys into Rome, sent legates to intercede with Leo for the friends of images, and, in token of the interest which he took in them, built a monastery for Greek refugees, to whom he assigned the new church of St. Praxedis for the performance of service in their own language.[k] The clergy of the party sought ordination in Italy; the laity, instigated by Theodore's teaching, refused religious offices at the hands of the iconoclastic clergy.[l] Leo was more and more exasperated. The worshippers of images were scourged, banished, mutilated, blinded, or put to death; it

A.D. 817.

dore's nephew and companion), c. 3, Acta SS., Feb. 4.

[e] Vita Theod. 93.

[f] Ib. 90-3.

[g] Ib. 83.

[h] Epp. *passim*; Schlosser, 418-23.

[i] Epp. ii. 12-17.

[k] Anastas. 215; Baron. 818. 14-17; Schlosser, 421-3.

[l] Ep. ii. 215, p. 583; Nand. v. 276.

was ordered that all pictures should be whitewashed, or taken down and burnt; spies were employed to discover all who possessed images or books in defence of them, all who should venture to shelter a fugitive or to relieve a prisoner of the party. All hymns in honour of images were expunged from the liturgy, and care was taken to instil an abhorrence of images into children by means of their school-books.[m]

Michael "the Stammerer," a general to whom Leo had been indebted for his throne, at length became discontented, and was convicted, by his own confession, of treasonable designs, on the eve of Christmas 820. He was condemned to death, and Leo would have ordered the execution of the sentence to take place immediately, but for the intercession of his empress, who entreated him to defer it until after the festival. The emperor agreed, but, with a melancholy foreboding, told her that her pious scruples would cost her and her children dear.[n] Michael was confined in the palace, and Leo, anxious to assure himself, went in the middle of the night to look whether the prisoner were safe. He found both him and the officer who guarded him asleep; but the keeper had resigned his bed to the criminal, and was lying on the floor. A slave, who was in the room unobserved, had recognized the emperor by his purple buskins, and on his withdrawal aroused the sleepers. The officer, knowing that the indulgence which he had shown to the prisoner must render himself suspected as an accomplice, concerted with Michael a plan for instant action. Under pretence that a confessor was required, he introduced into the

[m] Sym. Mag. de Leone, 6; Vita Niceph. 79; Schlosser, 423; Schröckh, xxiii. 364; Neand. v. 278-9.

[n] Const. Porph. i. 21. It is said that Leo was about to throw him into the furnace used for heating the baths of the palace (Sym. Mag. de Leone, 7, Cedrenus, 492)—"a tale," says Mr. Finlay, "fitter for the legends of the saints than for the history of the empire." ii. 148.

palace one of Michael's partisans, who, on going out, communicated with others. It was the custom to celebrate the earliest service of Christmas-day at three o'clock in the morning; the "ivory gate" of the palace was open to admit the clergy and singers, and among them a band of disguised conspirators entered. These attacked the chief chaplain, supposing him to be the emperor, who usually led the psalmody on such occasions; but the priest escaped by uncovering his tonsured head. They then fell on Leo, who for a time defended himself by swinging the chain of a censer, and afterwards, seizing a large cross from the altar, dealt heavy blows around him, until a conspirator of gigantic size disabled him by a stroke which cut off his right hand. On this, the emperor was immediately despatched; his head was cut off, and his body was dragged into the circus. Michael, before a smith could be found to release him from his chains, was hastily enthroned, and on the same day he was crowned in the church of St. Sophia.[o]

The friends of images now flattered themselves that Leo's policy would be reversed. The deposed patriarch Nicephorus wrote to request that the emperor would restore the images;[p] while Theodore the Studite warmly congratulated Michael on his accession,[q] and celebrated the murder of Leo with ferocious exultation. "It was right," he said, "that the apostate should thus end his life. It was fitting that in the night death should overtake the son of darkness. It was fitting that he who had desolated the temples of God should see swords bared against himself in God's temple. It was fitting that he should find no shelter from the altar who had destroyed the altar itself, and that that hand should

[o] Const. Porph. i. 24-5; ii. 2; Cedren. 494-6; Gibbon, iv. 418; Schlosser, 427-31.

[p] Const. Porph. ii. 8; Walch, x. 706.

[q] Ep. ii. 74.

be cut off which had been stretched forth against the holy things. It was fitting that a sword should pierce through the throat which had vomited forth blasphemies." After exercising his rhetoric in this style through other points of congruity, Theodore adds, in words which it is possible that he may have himself believed—"I do not mock at the manner of his death, as rejoicing in the fate of the impious man, but I speak in sorrow and with tears. It is because, as He hath said who cannot lie, that wicked man hath been miserably destroyed;"[r] and he goes on to express his hope that a new Josiah or Jovian may arise for the restoration of images and of religion.[s]

Michael recalled those who had been banished for their attachment to images, and the return of Theodore was celebrated by a sort of public triumph.[t] But the hopes which had been rashly entertained were soon disappointed. The emperor, a Phrygian by birth, was a rude soldier; it is said that he could hardly read. His enemies assert that his highest accomplishments consisted in a knowledge of horses, asses, and pigs; and to this it is added, that in early life he had been connected with a strange sect which mixed up Jewish tenets with those of the Athinggani and Paulicians—that he still retained its errors, that he denied our Lord's resurrection and the existence of the devil.[u] The joy of the monastic party was effectually checked when the noted iconomachist Antony of Sylæum was raised in 821 to the patriarchate of Constantinople.[x] Michael declared that he himself had never worshipped any image;[y] he forbade all

[r] Matt. xxi. 41.

[s] Ep. ii. 73. There are other scandalous passages of the same kind in Epp. 77 and 80; and an extraordinary accumulation of epithets against Leo in Ep. 75.

[t] Vita, 102, 115.

[u] Const. Porph. ii. 3-4, 8; Cedren. 496-9. See Fleury, xliv. 44; Walch, x. 629, 706; Schröckh, xxiii. 381 Neand. vi. 280. For the Athinggani, Neand. vi. 347.

[x] Schlosser, 460.

[y] Vita Theodor. 1

changes in religion, and all preaching on either side of the question. Both the friends and the opponents of images were to enjoy full liberty of opinion; but no public worship of images was to be allowed in the capital.[z] Thus Theodore and his friends found that, instead of the ascendency which they had expected, they were only to enjoy toleration—and that of a kind which was equal only in name, inasmuch as, while the opposite party lost nothing, the devotees of images were restrained from the open exercise of the worship which they regarded as essential. They once more refused to confer with their opponents, on the ground that it was unlawful to do so.[a] Theodore repeated to Michael the declaration which he had made to Leo, that earthly princes have no right to intermeddle with matters of religion. He desired the emperor to restore Nicephorus to the patriarchal throne, or, if he felt any doubt or distrust, to follow the tradition of the fathers by referring the matter to the bishop of Rome, as the inheritor of the Saviour's promise to St. Peter.[b] He met Michael's endeavours at a reconciliation between the parties by labouring to separate the church from the state.[c] He wrote to Marina, the divorced wife of Constantine VI., whose daughter Michael had taken from a convent to become his second wife,[d] charging her to leave the palace and her daughter's company, because the sword spoken of in the Gospel was now come to set the nearest kindred at variance among themselves.[e] Michael was provoked by the intractable behaviour of Theodore and his followers to abandon his principle of toleration, and to employ harsh measures against them. A.D. 826.

[z] Const. Porph. ii, 8; Cedren. 499; Schlosser, 433, 458.

[a] Theod. Ep. ii. 86.

[b] Ibid.; Schröckh, xxiii. 382.

[c] Schlosser, 459.

[d] Const. Porph. ii. 24.

[e] (Matt. x. 34-6). Ep. ii. 181. Baronius supposes the letter addressed to the mother-in-law of Leo (816. 23). But Pagi corrects him, and shows that it was not written until 824. xiii. 561.

The Studite was once more banished, and died in exile at the age of sixty-nine.[f]

As the adherents of images relied much on the support of Rome, the emperor in 824 sent a legation to pope Paschal, with a view of endeavouring to dissuade him from harbouring refugees of the party.[g] At the same time, he sent ambassadors to Lewis the Pious, with a letter in which he announced his accession, and his late victory over a rival named Thomas, who had pretended to be the deposed Constantine, and for three years had contested the possession of the empire.[h] In this letter Michael clears his faith and his conduct in ecclesiastical matters from misrepresentations which had reached the west; he entreats the Frank emperor to aid him by the influence which, as lord of Rome, he could exercise over the pope, and in justification of his proceedings he gives some curious statements of the excess to which the superstition as to images was carried. The cross was turned out of churches, and images were substituted for it; lights and incense were offered to them, hymns and prayers were addressed to them. They were employed as sponsors for children; and novices entering into the monastic state, instead of asking religious persons to receive their hair when cut off, allowed it to fall into the lap of images. Some of the clergy, in contempt of the public churches, celebrated the eucharist in houses, using pictures for altars. Some scraped off the colours of images, mixed them with the sacramental elements, and administered the mixture to communicants; while others placed the consecrated bread in the hands of images, and from these the communicants received it.[i] The

[f] Ep. ii. 121; Vita Nic. Stud. 32, Acta SS., Feb. 4; Pagi, xiv. 31: Schröckh, xxiii. 382-5.

[g] Const. Porph. ii. 10; Schlosser, 61-3.

[h] The letter is in Goldast, 'Imperialia Decreta,' 611, seqq.; and in Baronius, 824. 18, seqq.

[i] Mich. ap. Baron. 824. 16.

effect of this embassy fell short of Michael's expectation; but we shall see that it was not unimportant in the history of the western church.

Michael was succeeded in 829 by his son Theophilus. The young emperor had been carefully educated under John the Grammarian. He was a friend of literature, arts, and science; he composed hymns and church-music, and himself led the choir in divine service.[k] He prided himself on a strict administration of justice, which sometimes became an absurd or cruel pedantry; and his attempts in war against the Saracens resulted in fruitless displays of courage and waste of blood, which gained for him the epithet of "the Unlucky."[l] From the lessons of John he had derived a strong abhorrence of images, and he carried out his views with relentless determination.[m]

The first measure of Theophilus against images was an order, issued on the occasion of a general taxation, that the opinions of every person on the question should be ascertained.[n] He then, in 832, commanded that images should not be reverenced in any way, and that they should not be styled holy, forasmuch as God alone is holy.[o] In the same year, on the death of Antony, he bestowed the patriarchate on his tutor, John,[p] who soon after held a synod at which the decrees of the second Nicene council were condemned.[q] A.D. 833. The emperor then ordered that pictures of animals

[k] Cedren. 522; Schlosser, 469.

[l] Const. Porph. iii. 2-4, 37, 41; G. Hamart. cclxiv. 6; Cedren. 513-14; Gibbon, iv. 420; Finlay, ii. 170-3.

[m] Cedren. 536; Schlosser, 517.

[n] Baron. 830. 2.

[o] Cedren. 518; Schlosser, 519. These orders had before been given by Leo and by Michael. Const. Porph. iii. 10.

[p] Pagi, xiv. 175, 214. John is styled λεκανόμαντις by the opposite party, on account of an alleged practice of divining by means of a bason (for which practice see Hippolytus adv. Hæres. iv. 35). He is also, by a slight change in his name, called Jannes, with allusion to the Egyptian magician. (II Tim. iii. 8.) G. Hamart. cclxiv. 15-17; Const. Porph. iii. 26; iv. 7, 8; Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 12; de Michaele, 2; Cedren. 536. The frequent mention of divination by the Byzantine historians is remarkable.

[q] Schlosser, 519.

and other common subjects should be substituted in churches for those of a religious kind; and he proceeded with great severity to enforce obedience. A general burning of religious pictures and statues took place. Many of the party devoted to images were imprisoned or banished. Monasteries were to be applied to secular uses; monks were forbidden to wear their habit; such of them as had lived in rural convents were not to be admitted into towns; and those who painted images were especially forbidden to exercise their art.[r] The zealous party among the monks, on their side, were as resolute as the emperor. Many of them went to him, and told him to his face that he was accursed for interfering with a worship which was derived from St. Luke, from the apostles, and from the Saviour himself.[s] A monastic artist named Lazarus persisted in painting, notwithstanding repeated admonitions. He was cruelly beaten; but as soon as he had recovered in some degree, he boldly resumed his occupation. For this defiance of the law, he was again arrested; by way of disabling him, his hands were seared with hot plates of iron; and it was with difficulty that his life was saved through the intercession of the empress Theodora. Yet no suffering or danger could subdue the zealous painter, who, on being set at liberty, took refuge in a church of St. John the Baptist, and there produced a picture which speedily acquired the reputation of miraculous power.[t] Two other monks, the poet Theophanes and his brother Theodore, were summoned to the emperor's presence. Theophilus, who was fond of displaying his learning and ability in disputation, was provoked at finding that the monks did not yield with the same facility to which he

[r] Const. Porph. iii. 10; Cedren. 518.
[s] Const. Porph. iii. 11; Cedren. 519.
[t] Ib.; Baron. 832. 5.

had been accustomed in his courtiers. He ordered that each of them should receive two hundred lashes, and should afterwards be branded on the forehead with twelve iambic verses of the emperor's own composition :[u] "If the lines are bad," he said, "they deserve no better." Yet, notwithstanding these and many other severities, it does not appear that any persons suffered death in this reign on account of an attachment to images.[x]

But within the emperor's immediate circle the worship of images was secretly practised. In the beginning of his reign, his stepmother, Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine VI. by his Armenian empress,[y] had caused the noblest maidens of the empire to be assembled in order that Theophilus might select a consort from among them. Struck with the beauty of Icasia, he was about to bestow on her the golden apple, which was the symbol of his choice, when he paused for a moment, and said, as if unconsciously uttering his thought—"Of how much evil have women been the cause!" Icasia at once answered the reference to Eve with an allusion to the Redemption—"Yes; and of how much greater good!" But the emperor took alarm at this excessive readiness of repartee; he gave the apple to Theodora, a candidate of less brilliant and more domestic character; and Icasia sought consolation in founding a monastery, where she lived for the cultivation of learning.[z] Theodora had

[u] G. Hamart. cclxvi.; Const. Porph. iii. 14; Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 22; Cedren. 520-1; Baron. 835. 35. It does not seem impossible (as some writers have supposed) to find room for the verses on the tonsured heads of the monks, if a small letter were used. This difficulty is not raised by the ancient authorities; and, at least, the branding is certain.

[x] Giesel. II. i. 11. Schlosser (517, 524), Mr. Finlay (ii. 178), and Dean Milman (ii. 136) agree in denying that there is any authority for Gibbon's statement (iv. 494) as to the extreme cruelty of the punishments inflicted by Theophilus.

[y] Theophilus afterwards sent Euphrosyne back to her nunnery. Cedren. 514.

[z] G. Hamart, cclxiv. 2; Sym. Magist. de Theoph. i.; Zonaras, ap. Baron. t. xiv. 151; Gibbon, iv. 421; See Acta SS., Feb. 11, pp. 554-5.

been brought up in the worship of images. Her mother,[a] who was devoted to them, secretly kept a number of them, and, when the emperor's children visited her, she used to bring forth the images, and offer them to be kissed. Theophilus, by questioning the children, discovered that their grandmother was in the habit of amusing them with figures which they regarded as dolls. He strictly forbade them to visit her again, and she had difficulty in escaping punishment, although she continued to reprove the emperor very freely for his measures.[b] Theodora herself was detected in paying reverence to images by a dwarf, who was kept about the court as a jester. On hearing his tale, Theophilus rushed in a fury to the empress's apartment; but the images were not to be found, and the dwarf was silenced for the future by a whipping.[c]

Theophilus died in January 842. Fearing, in his last sickness, for the empire which he was about to leave to women and young children, he endeavoured to secure it by the death of his brother-in-law Theophobus, a descendant of the Persian kings, who had distinguished himself by military services. The head of Theophobus was cut off in prison, and was carried to the emperor; and with his hand on it he expired.[d]

It is said that Theophilus, with a view to the continuance of his own ecclesiastical policy, had bound Theodora and the senate by oath to make no change as to religion.[e] The guardians of his son Michael, however, were either favourable to images or capable of being gained to the cause.[f] The only seeming exception was

[a] See Const. Porph. iii. 5; Cedren. 545; Walch, x. 520.

[b] Const. Porph. iii. 5; Cedren. 515-16.

[c] Const. Porph. i. 6; Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 7; Cedren. 516.

[d] For the history of Theophobus, see Const. Porph. iii. 19-20. The writer cited under that name (iii. 38) and Cedrenus (533) say that, according to some, he was put to death by an officer without orders.

[e] Cedren. 528, 533; Walch, x. 720.

[f] Schlosser, 544-5.

Manuel, uncle of the empress. But in a dangerous sickness he was visited by some Studite monks, who promised him life if he would swear to undertake the restoration of images:[g] and Manuel, on his recovery, joined with the other ministers in laying the subject before Theodora, who replied that her own wishes had long been in the same direction, but that she had felt herself restrained by her engagements to Theophilus.[h] The revolution was speedily begun. The patriarch John was ejected, not without personal violence,[i] and Methodius, who had been a confessor under the last reign,[k] was put into his place. A synod, to which those who were known as resolute iconomachists were not invited, pronounced in favour of images; but the empress still hesitated, and entreated the assembled clergy to intercede for the forgiveness of her husband's sins. Methodius replied that they could only intercede for those who were yet on earth; that, if Theophilus had died in his error, his case was beyond the power of the church. Thus urged, Theodora ventured on the fiction (which she is said to have even confirmed with an oath) that the emperor, before his death, had expressed repentance for his measures; that he had asked for some images, and had kissed them with ardent devotion; whereupon the patriarch assured her that, if it were so, he would answer for her husband's salvation.[l] There was now no further hindrance to the restoration of images. Those of the capital were re-established with

[g] Const. Porph. iv. 1. See Walch, x. 769.

[h] Cedren. 535; Walch, x. 787, 790.

[i] For the tricks imputed to John—wounding himself, and pretending that his enemies had assaulted him, etc.—see Const. Porph. iv. 3; Cedren. 535; Walch, x. 771. Symeon says that, in the monastery where he was shut up after his deposition, he put out the eyes of an image, and that the empress, on being informed of this, ordered his own eyes to be put out. De Mich. 4.

[k] Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 24; Vita Method. 7-9 (Patrol. Gr. c.); Cedren. 521-2.

[l] Acta SS., Jan. 14; Const. Porph. iv. 6; Schlosser, 548-52.

great solemnity on the first Sunday in Lent[m]—a day which was styled the Feast of Orthodoxy, and has ever since been celebrated by the Greeks under that name, although with a wider application of the term.[n] The bodies of Nicephorus, Theodore the Studite, and other friends of images who had died in exile. were translated to the capital.[o] The sees were filled with members of the triumphant party, and among them was the branded monk Theophanes, who obtained the bishoprick of Nicæa.[p] The empress, at a banquet, expressed to him her regret for the cruelty with which her husband had treated him. "Yes," said Theophanes, "for this I will call him to account at the righteous judgment-seat of God!" Theodora was struck with horror; but the patriarch Methodius reassured her by blaming the vehemence of his brother, and by repeating his declaration that Theophilus was safe.[q]

The worship of images—although only in the form of painting, not of sculpture[r]—has ever since been retained by the Greeks. The opposition to it had not proceeded from the people, but from the will of the emperors; and when the imperial authority was steadily exerted in favour of images, the iconomachist party

[m] Const. Porph. iv. 6. This is generally placed in 842; but, as in that year Theophilus died on Jan. 20, and the first Sunday of Lent was Feb. 20, Walch says that the solemnity must be put off to 843. (x. 743.) See Pagi, xiv. 267.

[n] Const. Porph. iv. 10; Walch, x. 804-8.

[o] Acta SS., Feb. 11, p. 561; Walch, x. 780.

[p] Symeon Magister tells us that some objected to him as being a Syrian, and without any warrant of his orthodoxy; but that Methodius, pointing to the verses on his forehead, said, "I could wish for no better warrant than this." De Theoph. 23.

[q] Const. Porph. iv. 11; Cedren. 539. There is a similar story as to the resentment of the painter Lazarus. Const. Porph. iii. 13.

[r] The Greeks have a saying that it is unlawful to worship any image whose nose may be laid hold of with two fingers. (Ansaldus, 'De sacro et publico pictarum tabularum cultu,' 11, ed. Aug. Taurin. 1768.) Some Romanists attack the inconsistency of the Greeks even more than the entire opposition of Protestants. Schröckh, xxiii. 394. See Augusti, xii. 234.

became, not indeed immediately,[s] but within no long time, extinct.[t]

III. The opinion of the Frankish church as to images had continued in accordance with the council of Frankfort, when the embassy from the Greek emperor Michael,[u] in 824, led to a fresh examination of the question. Lewis had such confidence in the correctness of the Frankish view as to hope that, if care were taken to avoid all cause of irritation, even the pope himself might be brought to agree in it. He therefore, after having received the Greek ambassadors, sent some envoys of his own to Rome in their company, with a request that Eugenius, who had just succeeded Paschal, would allow the clergy of Gaul to collect the opinions of the fathers on the subject.[x] Having, by this show of deference to the pope, guarded against offence in the outset, Lewis summoned an assembly which met at Paris in 825.[y] The bishops drew up a collection of authorities, which they forwarded to the emperor, with a letter in which they censure both the extreme parties among the Greeks. They distinguish, as the Caroline Books had done, between paying reverence to the cross and to images,[z] and declare the opinion of the fathers to be, that images are not to be worshipped or adored, but are to be used for loving remembrance of the originals.

[s] See below, c. iii. ; Walch, x. 818.

[t] Giesel. II. i. 12 ; Neand. vi. 287 ; Milman, ii. 139.

[u] See p. 302.

[x] Einhard, A.D. 824 ; Baron. 824. 31.

[y] The letters of Lewis to Eugenius and to his own commissioners are in Hardouin, but Mansi is the only editor of the Councils who includes this. Most of the documents are given by Baronius (824-5), and the whole by Goldast (626, seqq.), as also in the 'Patrologia' (xcviii. 1293, seqq. ; civ. 1317, seqq.). On the attempts of Romanists to suppress them, or to deny their genuineness, see Walch, xi. 96 ; Schröckh, xxiii. 406. Baronius contents himself with abusing the anonymous first editor—"Arguendus est iste filius esse tenebrarum, qui tenebricosum opus, perpetuis tenebris dignum a majoribus habitum, et abditum obscuritate nominis, et loci unde prodierit, totum densa effusum caligine in odium et invidiam Catholici nominis sparserit," etc. 825. 2.

[z] Goldast, 683.

They strongly censure Pope Adrian's manner of answering the Caroline Books ; but they charitably suggest that his reference to his predecessor Gregory the Great, in behalf of opinions widely different from those which that father really held, proves his error to have been not wilful, but committed in ignorance.[a] They congratulate Lewis on the prospect which the Greek application affords him of being able to mediate between the opposite parties, to convince the pope himself, and to bring both to an agreement in the truth.[b] They send him a sketch of a letter to the pope, drawn up with an extreme anxiety to avoid all risk of a collision. In this document the emperor is made to extol the position and authority of the "supreme pontiff," the "universal pope," as having the means of reconciling the intolerant factions of the Greeks ;[c] he will not presume to dictate, but only ventures on suggestions ; he speaks of the assembly of Paris as not a synod, but merely a conference of his friends, the children of the apostolic father.[d] The bishops even go so far as to annex a letter which they suggest that the pope himself might subscribe and send to Constantinople—forbidding all superstitions as to images on the one hand, and all acts of contempt or outrage against them on the other.[e]

Two bishops, Jeremy of Sens and Jonas of Orleans, were sent by Lewis to Rome, with a letter entirely different from the draft which the council had supplied.[f] The emperor requests Eugenius to mediate between the friends and the enemies of images, and offers that his own envoys may accompany those whom the pope should send to Constantinople. The instructions given to Jeremy and

[a] Baron. 825. 8.

[b] Ib. 11.

[c] Goldast, 720-1.

[d] Ib. 722. This distinction (which, after all, does not appear in the letter actually sent) is absurdly dwelt on as important by Baronius (825. 1) and other Romanists. See Walch, xi. 135.

[e] Goldast, 723, seqq. See Walch, xi. 128.

[f] Hard. iv. 1259.

Jonas[g] direct them to deal very carefully with the pope. They are not to show him any parts of the documents drawn up at Paris which might be distasteful to him; they are to avoid everything which might possibly jar on the characteristic obstinacy of the Romans,[h] and thus might provoke him to some irrevocable act; they are to present the matter to him in such a way that, instead of supposing the truth to be forced on him, and thence conceiving a prejudice against it, he may imagine it to be his own discovery.

The result of this mission is but imperfectly known. It did not induce the Romans to abandon their former views; yet Eugenius made no such demonstration against Lewis as his predecessors had made against the eastern emperors; nor did he even attempt to answer him, as Adrian had answered Charlemagne.[i] The envoys whom Lewis sent to the east were well received there, and, as Michael was himself no violent iconoclast, it seems probable that the two imperial courts agreed as to the question of images.[k] But the Franks were soon after engrossed by domestic troubles, which may sufficiently account for the absence of any later communication with the Greeks on the subject of this controversy.

There were, however, some members of the Frankish church who carried their opposition to images beyond the views which had been sanctioned by the councils of Frankfort and Paris.[l] Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, whose share in the political movements of his time has been noticed in the earlier part of this chapter, distinguished

[g] Hard. iv. 1260.

[h] "Pertinacia Romana." Baronius contends that in that age *pertinacia* was equivalent to *constantia*. Very possibly; but only with those who were guilty of it, not with those who charged it on others. The words are directly opposed to each other by St. Augustine, C. Julian. iv. 20.

[i] Walch, xi. 138.

[k] Ib. 132.

[l] See Mabill. Acta SS., Ben. IV. xx.-xxi.

himself more creditably by his opposition to prevailing superstitions—as to ordeals,[m] to the expectation of miraculous cures,[n] to the excess of reverence lavished on the tombs[o] of saints, to the belief that storms, diseases of cattle, and other rural troubles were caused by magical art.[p] Among his tracts is one 'Of the Images of Saints,' in which —provoked, as it would seem, by the eastern emperor's report as to the extravagant superstition of the Greeks[q] —he appears altogether to disallow the use of such representations.[r] He quotes largely from older writers, especially from St. Augustine, and shows that the early church had employed images for remembrance only, and not for any religious purpose.[s] In answer to a plea frequently advanced by the advocates of images, he maintains that visible things, even although good in themselves, instead of aiding towards the contemplation of things unseen and spiritual, often act as a hindrance to it.[t] An image, he says, represents the body only; if men were to be worshipped at all, such honour ought rather to be paid to them while alive, and complete in the union of body and soul.[u] He who adores a picture or an image pays his worship not to God, to angels, or to saints, but to the image itself; to think otherwise is to yield to a delusion of the devil, who aims at the restoration of idolatry.[x] Nor is it less absurd to expect good from religious pictures than it would be to think of recruiting an army with painted soldiers, or to look for the fruits of the earth from a picture of the harvest or of the vintage.[y]

It does not appear that Agobard incurred any censure on account of his opinions as to images; but one of his

[m] See p. 258.

[n] 'Ad Bartholomæum.'

[o] "Memoriæ." See Baluze, n. on Agob. 'De Imaginibus,' c. 17; Ducange, s. v.

[p] 'De Grandine.'

[q] Mabill. IV. xxvi.

[r] Baronius is much displeased with Agobard. 825. 63.

[s] C. 32.

[t] C. 15.

[u] C. 28. This was also said by Claudius of Turin.

[x] C. 31.

[y] C. 33.

contemporaries, Claudius of Turin (who, indeed, took up the subject somewhat earlier), by a more thorough and more active opposition to the prevailing religion, occasioned much agitation in the Frankish church.[z] Claudius was by birth a Spaniard, and is said to have been a pupil of Felix of Urgel,[a] although he does not appear to have been a follower of the adoptionist doctrines. He was a diligent student of St. Augustine, but spoke contemptuously of the other fathers in general;[b] and it would seem that from the doctrines of the great African teacher as to the nothingness of human merit he derived a strong dislike of the current opinions as to the means of attaining sanctity.[c] He had gained reputation by commentaries on Scripture, of which some are still extant.[d] He had been attached to the court of Lewis in Aquitaine,[e] and in the first year of his patron's reign as emperor was appointed by him to A.D. 814. the see of Turin,[f] in the hope that he might be able to effect a reform among his clergy and in the neighbouring district. The emperor, however, could hardly have been prepared for reforms so extensive as those which Claudius attempted. Finding that the churches of his diocese were full of images and votive offerings,[g] he at once

[z] There is, as Gieseler (II. i. 106) remarks, much verbal agreement between Agobard and Claudius. Our knowledge of Claudius is mostly derived from the treatises of Jonas and Dungal against him, especially from their quotations, for his 'Apologeticus' is not now known to exist, although some MSS. of it are mentioned in not very distant times. (C. Schmidt, in Herzog, ii. 716.) Dungal and Jonas are both in the Bibl. Patrum, Lugd. t. xiv., where also the chief passages of Claudius are collected, pp. 197-9. [Jonas is also in vol. cvi. and Dungal in vol. cv. of the Patrologia.]

[a] Jonas, p. 168. Neander without any ground questions this. vi. 120.

[b] Jonas, 171, b. c.; Dungal, 204, f., Walch, xi. 181.

[c] Giesel. II. i. 190.

[d] Jonas, Præf. and p. 168. These and other remains of Claudius are in the Patrologia, t. civ.

[e] Præf. ad Comm. in Galat. Patrol. civ. 841.

[f] Gfrörer places his promotion in 818. iii. 732.

[g] "Inveni omnes basilicas sordibus anathematum et imaginibus plenas." (Claud. ap. Jon. 170.) Jonas confounds *anathêmata* (votive offerings) with *anathêmata* (curses or cursed things), as if Claudius had applied the

unceremoniously ejected all such ornaments. No distinction was made in favour of historical pictures; and relics and crosses—objects which the eastern iconoclasts had spared—shared the same fate.[h] To worship the images of saints, he said, is merely a renewal of the worship of demons under other names;[i] to worship the cross is to join with the heathen in dwelling on the shame of the Saviour's history, to the exclusion of his glorious resurrection;[k] and he followed out this by arguing, in a somewhat ribald style, that, if the cross were to be reverenced on account of its connexion with the Saviour, the same reason would enforce the veneration of all other objects which are mentioned as having been connected with Him.[l] He opposed the worship of saints, supplications for their intercession, and the practice of dedicating churches to their honour.[m] He also objected to the practice of pilgrimage; it was, he said, a mistake to expect benefit from visiting the shrine of St. Peter, inasmuch as the power of forgiving sins, which was bestowed on the apostles, belonged to them only during their lifetime, and on their death passed from them to others. On being pressed, however, he said that he did not absolutely either condemn or approve pilgrimages, because their effects were various in different persons.[n] The proceedings of Claudius occasioned much excitement. Pope Paschal, on hearing of them, expressed his displeasure, although he did not venture to take any active steps against a bishop who had been so lately promoted by the emperor's personal favour; but Claudius made light of the papal censure—declaring that the title of *apostolical* belongs

latter term to the images. Neand. vi. 123. (See on the distinction of the words, Bishop Ellicott's note on Gal. i. 8.)

[h] Jonas, 168, 170, 174.

[i] Claud. ap. Jon. 174.

[k] Ib. 176, c.

[l] Ib. 178.

[m] Jon. 174.

[n] Claud. ap. Jon. 188, 190; Dungal, 214. See Walch, xi. 160, 214

not to him who occupies an apostle's seat, but to one who does an apostle's work.[o]

Theodemir, an abbot[p] who had been a friend and admirer of Claudius, on receiving one of his works which was inscribed to himself, took alarm and wrote against him. Claudius defended himself in a scornful and contemptuous tone. He met the charge of impiety by taxing his opponents with superstition and idolatry; and, in answer to Theodemir's statement that he had founded a sect which had spread into Gaul and Spain, he declared that he had nothing to do with sects, but was devoted to the cause of unity.[q] The controversy was carried further. The Frankish clergy in general, who had at first been disposed to countenance Claudius, now took offence. Some of them requested Lewis to examine into the bishop's opinions, and the emperor, with the advice of his counsellors,[r] pronounced against him. A synod of bishops was then held; but Claudius, who had been cited, refused to appear before it, and is said to have spoken of it as an assembly of asses.[s]

Dungal, a deacon of Scottish or Irish birth, who had been established by Charlemagne as a teacher at Pavia,[t] wrote against Claudius in 827, with a great display of learning, but without much critical judgment; he speaks, for example, of images as having been used in the church from the very beginning—"about eight hundred and twenty years or more"—although he produces no instance

[o] Claud. ap. Jon. 195, g. Jonas answers this in a way which draws from the editors the marginal note "Caute lege." Claudius was not happy as an etymologist—"Apostolicus dicitur," says he, "quasi *Apostoli custos*" ! (ibid). The writing in question was later than the Parisian synod of 825. Pagi, xiv. 72.

[p] Probably of a monastery called Psalmody, near Nismes. Hist. Litt. iv. 490; Walch, xi. 184. See Patrol. civ. 1030.

[q] Claud. ap. Jon. 169-70.

[r] "Palatii sui prudentissimis viris." Jonas, Præf.

[s] Dungal, 223, g.

[t] See Walch, xi. 186. Mabillon and the authors of the Hist. Littéraire (iv. 493) wrongly supposes him a monk of St. Denys. Mansi, not. in Baron. xiv. 244. See Lanigan, iii. 256, seqq

earlier than Paulinus of Nola, who flourished about the year 400.[u] Jonas, bishop of Orleans, one of the commissioners who had been sent to Rome after the synod of Paris, also undertook a refutation of Claudius at the request of Lewis,[x] but before it was finished, both Claudius[y] and the emperor died. Jonas had abandoned the work, when, in consequence of finding that the errors of Claudius continued to be spread by means of his writings and of his pupils,[z] he was induced to complete it in three books, which are dedicated to Charles the Bald, and are severally devoted to the defence of images, of the cross, and of pilgrimages. But, although Jonas is vehement in his opposition to Claudius (whom he charges with having left behind him writings of an Arian tendency[a]), he preserves on the subject of images the medium characteristic of the Frankish church, whereas Dungal had approximated to the Nicene view ;[b] and he denounces in strong terms the superstitious doctrines and practices of the Greeks.[c] As a lesser matter, it may be mentioned that he frequently remarks on the ignorance of Latin style, and even of grammar, which the bishop of Turin had displayed.[d]

Claudius died in possession of his see. It has been erroneously said that he went to the length of separating his church from the communion of Rome, and the hostility to Roman peculiarities which was afterwards cherished in the Alpine valleys has been traced to him, either as its originator, or as a link in a chain begun by

[u] Patrol. cv. 469. See Walch, ix. 161, 219; Schröckh, xxiii. 414-16.

[x] Jon. Præf.

[y] Claudius died in 839. C. Schmidt supposes him to have become milder in his latter days, so that he was again patronized by Lewis, and that Jonas deferred the publication of his treatise against him until he found that the opinions of Claudius were maintained by others. Herzog, ii. 716.

[z] Jon. Præf.

[a] Ib. See Walch, xi. 222-4.

[b] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. IV. xxi.-xxiii.

[c] "Sceleratissimus error." See Jon. p. 168, g. h. ; Walch, xi. 209.

[d] *E.g.*, that he had used *destrui* as a deponent (171, a), and that he had made *fungor* govern an accusative. 195, g.

Vigilantius, or earlier; but, although it may be reasonably supposed that his writings, like those of others who more or less strongly opposed the prevailing system of religion, had some effect in maintaining the spirit of such opposition, the idea of a succession of connected "witnesses" against the Roman church appears to be altogether groundless.[e] In Claudius, as in many other reformers, the intemperance of his zeal marred the goodness of his designs.

Notwithstanding the difference on a subject which had elsewhere occasioned so many anathemas, the Frankish church remained in uninterrupted communion with Rome. It continued until nearly the end of the century to adhere to its distinctive view; but about that time a change becomes visible, which gradually assimilated its doctrines on the question of images to those which were sanctioned by the papal authority.[f]

IV.[g] About the time which we have now reached, the law of the church received an extraordinary addition, which in the sequel produced effects of vast importance. The collection of canons and decretals made by Dionysius Exiguus[h] had been generally used throughout the west. But from the beginning of the seventh century another collection, which (whether rightly or otherwise) bore the name of Isidore of Seville, had been current in Spain; and, as it contained some pieces which were not in the compilation of Dionysius, it also found its way into France.[i] The same venerated name was now employed

[e] See for various views, Allix on the Churches of Piedmont, c. ix.; Walch, xi. 143; Schröckh, xxiii. 420; Hahn, ii. 28, 57; Ampère, iii. 88; Milman, ii. 271.

[f] Fleury, xlvii. 5; Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. IV. xvi., xxviii.; Pagi, xiv. 71; Schröckh, xxiii. 247-8.

This section appears to be most conveniently placed here, although in strictness it rather belongs to the next chapter.

[h] See vol. ii. p. 330.

[i] This collection was first edited by Gonzales, Madrid, 1808-1821, and is reprinted in vol. lxxxiv. of the 'Patrologia.' It is supposed to have been formed between the date of the fourth

to introduce another set of documents, distinguished by some new and very remarkable features.[k]

In the older collections, the decretal epistles had begun with that addressed by pope Siricius to Himerius, in 385.[1] But the writer who styled himself Isidore produced nearly a hundred letters written in the names of earlier bishops of Rome, from Clement and Anacletus, the contemporaries of the apostles, with some letters from supposed correspondents of the popes, and the acts of some hitherto unknown councils.[m] The spuriousness of these pieces is established by gross anachronisms, and by other instances of ignorance and clumsiness;[n] as, that persons who lived centuries apart are represented as corresponding with each other;[o] that the early bishops of Rome are made to quote the Scriptures according to St. Jerome's version; and that some of them, who lived while Rome was yet heathen, complain of the invasion of church-property by laymen in terms which evidently betray a writer of the Carolingian period.[p] Some of the forgeries

council of Toledo (which is the latest council included in the original form of the code) and the death of Isidore, by whom it was used, although his personal share in the formation of it is doubtful;—*i.e.* between 633 and 636. (See Arevalo, 'Isidoriana,' iii. 91, Patrol. lxxxi.; Gonzales, ib. lxxxiv. 11-14; Santander, ib. 877-88; Planck, ii. 801-6; Walter, 171; Bähr, 596-7; Gfrörer's 'Karolinger,' i. 96.) Wasserschleben (in Herzog, xii. 307-9), says that the name of Isidore was never connected with the old Spanish collection until it was used by the forger of the Decretals in his preface.

[k] The pretended compiler is made in some MSS. to style himself "Isidorus *Mercator*." (See Hard. i. 4.) But it is generally agreed that the bishop of Seville was meant, and *mercator* is supposed to be the mistake of a copyist for *peccator*—a term which bishops by way of humility sometimes attached to their names. (See Hincmar, ii. 793, quoted by Santander, Patrol. lxxxiv. 893.) Schröckh, xxii. 30-1; Gieseler, II. i. 173; Hinschius, 230.

[1] See vol. i. p. 432.

[m] There were also some forgeries in the names of writers later than Siricius (see vol. ii. p. 329). The earlier letters are in Hardouin, i.; the whole collection, in vol. cxxx. of the 'Patrologia,' and an elaborate edition from a collation of MSS. has been published by P. Hinschius, at Halle, 1863.

[n] Gfrörer's Karolinger, i. 72.

[o] Thus Victor I. (A.D. 190-202) writes to Theophilus of Alexandria (A.D. 400). Hard. i. 103.

[p] *E.g.*, Pius (A.D. 142-57), Ep. ii. col. 97; Urban. (A.D. 223-30), col. 115. (Giesel. II. i. 174-5.)

included in the work—among them, the Donation of Constantine—were of earlier manufacture:[q] a great part of the other materials has been traced to various sources—to Scripture, to the Latin ecclesiastical writers, to the service-books of the church, to genuine canons and decretals, to the Theodosian code, and to the Pontifical Books (a set of legendary lives of Roman bishops, which was continued by Anastasius "the Librarian," and is usually cited under his name).[r] The work of the forger consisted chiefly in gathering these materials (in great part from secondary sources),[s] in connecting them together, and in giving them the appearance of a binding authority.[t]

The date of the composition must be placed between the sixth council of Paris, in 829, from which the forger has borrowed, and that of Quiercy, in 857, where the decretals were cited as authoritative by Charles the Bald.[u] That they were of Frankish origin is proved by certain peculiarities of language;[x] and Mentz is now

[q] See Walter, 184; Gfrörer's Karol. i. 80. There has been much discussion about a set of capitularies said to have been presented by Angilram, of Metz, to Adrian (or by the pope to the bishop), in 785, which have much in common with the forged Decretals. (Hard. iii. 2061-72.) Gfrörer (Karol. i. 77-80) and Denzinger (Patrol. cxxx. Proleg. vi.) hold with Wasserschleben, who, in his 'Gesch. d. Vorgratianischen Rechtsquellen' (1839), and in Herzog, xii. 345, maintains that they are genuine, and were afterwards interpolated from the Decretals. But they are now more generally regarded as spurious, and as derived from the Decretals. (Walter, 212; Bähr, 302; Rettb. i. 501-9, 652; Giesel. II. i. 183; Acta SS., Oct. 28, pp. 661-3.) The first reference to them is by Hincmar of Laon, about 870. Hinschius thinks that the capitularies are spurious, but that they were earlier than the Decretals. Prolegg. 164, 167-75.

[r] See Herzog, art. *Liber Pontificalis*; Reumont, ii. 260.

[s] Hinschius, Præf. 138.

[t] Planck, ii. 810; Walter, 195-6; Gfrörer, Karolinger, i. 90. See Hinsch. Prolegg.

[u] Car. Calv. ap. Pertz, Leges, i. 453; Gieseler, II. i. 181; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 82. It has been said that the decretals are also indebted to the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 836 (Walter, 191-2); but this is questioned. (Gfrörer, i. 81.) Prof. Denzinger finds in them allusions to the council of Thionville, A.D. 835, and places them between that date and the treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843. (Patrol. cxxx. Prolegg. ix.-x.) Gfrörer's opinion that Wala used the elements of the forgery at the Field of Lies, in 833, has already been cited, p 282.

[x] Gfrörer, Karol. i. 91; Denzinger, viii., from Knust, 'De Fontibus et Consilio Pseudoisidorianæ Collect.' Götting. 1832.

commonly supposed to have been the place of the fabrication. Hincmar says that the collection was brought from Spain by Riculf, who held that see from 787 to 814—a statement which is probably founded on Riculf's having obtained from Spain a copy of the older Isidorian collection, of which the forger availed himself.[y] And Benedict, a "Levite" (or deacon) of Mentz, who between 840 and 847 added to the capitularies of Charlemagne and Lewis three books of spurious collections, which have much in common with the decretals, states that he chiefly derived his materials from the archives of his cathedral, where they had been deposited by Riculf and had been discovered by the existing archbishop, Autcar, or Otgar.[z] This Benedict has been regarded by many writers in late times as the forger of the decretals also, although it seems to be questionable whether the evidence will suffice to bring the work home to him.[a]

In these decretals, the privileges of the clergy in general, and especially of the bishops, are set very high; and the power of the pope is extended beyond anything that had as yet been known. He appears as the supreme

[y] Hincm. Opera, ii. 476; Santander, in Patrol. lxxxiv. 892-901; Walter, 187; Giesel. II. i. 182; Denzinger, viii.

[z] Bened. Levit. ap. Pertz, Leges. ii. App. 39. The older genuine collection of capitularies, by Ansegis, is in Pertz, Leges, i. 257, seqq.; those of Benedict are in the 2nd volume, with a dissertation by Knust, in which they are traced to their sources.

[a] Planck says that the internal evidence proves both the forgeries to have been in progress at the same time (ii. 311-14; but Walter (192), Knust (ap. Pertz, ii. 34), and Gieseler (II. i. 181) place the decretals first. Gfrörer thinks that Benedict was concerned in the original authorship, but that the forgery was probably elaborated in Neustria—the kingdom of Charles the Bald—where it first made any noise; and, if so, that Wenilo of Sens and Rothad of Soissons (personages with whom the next chapter will make us acquainted) were parties to it. (Karolinger, i. 112.) Phillips (from whose 'Kirchenrecht' the section on the Decretals is translated in the Patrologia, cxxx.) supposes the authorship wholly Neustrian, and that Rothad was concerned in it. (xxiii.-iv.) Hinschius thinks that Benedict was set to work by Otgar, but that he had not completed his task when the archbishop died, in 847; consequently, that it may have been finished, not at Mentz, but in France; and he would place the composition of the Decretals between 847 and 853 Præf. 143-62, 184-6, 201.

head, lawgiver, and judge of the church, the one bishop of the whole. All causes may be carried to him by appeal; he alone is entitled to decide all weighty or difficult causes;[b] without his leave, not even provincial councils may be called, nor have their judgments any validity.[c] A very large proportion of the decretals relates to accusations against bishops; indeed almost every one of the popes who are personated has something to say on this subject. Bishops are declared to be exempt from all secular judgment;[d] evil bishops are to be borne as an infliction of Providence, which will redound to the eternal benefit of those who submit to it;[e] the judgment of them is to be left to God.[f] If, however, charges should be brought against a bishop, care is taken, by the rigour of the conditions which are laid down as necessary, to render the prosecution of such charges almost impossible.[g] No layman may accuse a bishop, or even a clerk; for the disciple is not above his master, nor must the sheep accuse their shepherd.[h] A clerk who would accuse his bishop is infamous, as a son taking arms against his father; and therefore he is not to be heard.[i] In order to prove a bishop guilty, seventy-two witnesses are required;[k] and the qualifications of witnesses are defined with a strictness which seems intended rather to shut out evidence than to secure its trustworthiness.

[b] Anacletus, iii. 4 (Hard. i. col. 74); Sixtus, i. (c. 80), ii. (c. 90), Eleutherius, ii. (c. 102); Zephyrinus, c. 106; Fabian, iii. 5 (c. 129); Melchiades, i. (c. 244); Julius, i. 1-2 (c. 558); ii. 2-4 (c. 563), etc.; Planck, ii. 815-16; Gieseler, II. i. 176.

[c] Præf. col. 5; Giesel. II. i. 180-1.

[d] Pontianus, i. (c. 117).

[e] Zephyrinus, c. 107.

[f] Pius, ii. (c. 96).

[g] Anaclet. ii. (c. 69); Fabian, ii. 2 (cc. 126-7); Stephan. ii. 11 (c. 564); Julius, ii. 11 (c. 145); Felix, c. 755; Damasus, c. 765, etc. See Planck, ii. 821.

[h] Anaclet. ii. 9 (cc. 69-70); Marcellin. ii. 3 (c. 215); Giesel. II. i. 175-6.

[i] Telesphor. iv. (c. 92); Stephan. ii. 9 (c. 144); Julius, ii. 10 (c. 564).

[k] Zephyrin. c. 105; Sylvester, iii. (cc. 291-2), who also says that there must be 44 against a presbyter—and so on through the lower grades.

There was, however, one grade in the hierarchy on which the decretals bore hardly—the metropolitans. In the Frankish system, the trial of a bishop had belonged to his metropolitan, from whom the last appeal lay to the sovereign;[1] but by the decretals the metropolitan was powerless without the concurrence of his suffragans; he could not even assemble these except by the pope's permission, and all decisive judgment in such matters belonged to the pope alone.[m] And now a broad distinction was drawn between ordinary metropolitans and the higher grade of primates, who were distinguished by the commission of vicars under the pope.[n]

It is matter of conjecture in what interest this forgery was originally made[o]—whether in that of the pope, to whom it assigned a supremacy so awful in its alleged origin and unlimited in its extent; or of the bishops, whom it emancipated not only from all secular control, but also from that of metropolitans and provincial synods, while it referred their causes to the more distant tribunal of the pope, as the only judge competent to decide them; or whether, without any definite purpose as to the mutual relations of different classes in the hierarchy, it was merely intended to assert the privileges of the clergy against the oppressions which they suffered in the troubled reigns of Charlemagne's successors, and to claim for them a position independent of the temporal power. The opinion of the most judicious inquirers appears to point to a combination of the second and third of these motives—that the decretals were fabricated for the benefit of the clergy, and more especially of the bishops; that they were designed to protect the property of the church against invasion,

[1] See p. 127, and the case of Theodulf, p. 276.

[m] Hyginus, ii. (c. 94); Lucius, iv. (c. 138); Giesel. II. i. 138: Ellendorf, 'Karolinger,' ii. 161-3.

[n] Anaclet. ii. (c. 71); Anicet. ii.-iii. (c. 99); Stephan. ii. 6 (c. 144); Julius, ii. 12, 14 (c. 564); Walter, 197; Giesel. II. i. 178.

[o] See Schröckh, xxii. 28-9.

and to fix the privileges of the hierarchy on a basis independent of secular authority; that the metropolitans were especially assailed because they had been the chief instruments by which the Carolingian princes had been able to govern the bishops, to depose such of these as were obnoxious, and to sway the decisions of synods. The popes were eventually the principal gainers by the forgery; but this appears to have been a result beyond the contemplation of those who planned or who executed it.[p]

That the author's design was, as he himself professes,[q] to supply a digest of the existing ecclesiastical laws—to promote the advancement of religion and morality—will hardly be believed on his own authority, although in our own time the assertion has found champions whose ability is more conspicuous than their sincerity.[r] Yet we may do

[p] See Schmidt, i. 675-8; Planck, ii. 818-24: Guizot, ii. 341; Giesel. II. i. 174-5; Gfrörer, Karoling. i. 83-8, 92-4; Ellendorf, ii. 167; Denzinger, viii.-ix.; Milman. ii. 305; Wasserschleben in Herzog, xii. 340-3. The forgery of both the capitularies and the decretals seems to have been especially intended to serve the interest of the archbishoprick of Mentz. Other sees had in late times gained various advantages over it; Cologne and Salzburg had become metropolitan, and Otgar had reason to fear the dismemberment of his province and the loss of his position in the German hierarchy. Hence the distinction between metropolitans and the higher dignity of *primates*—among whom, as successor of St. Boniface, he might reasonably hope to gain a place. (Blasco, cited by Gieseler, II. i. 178; Knust, ap. Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 38; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 98-102; Wasserschl. in Herzog, xii. 352.) In like manner Gfrörer would account for the part which he supposes Wenilo, another metropolitan, to have taken as to the decretals by supposing that he aimed at acquiring the degree of primate, which was afterwards bestowed on Ansegis, one of his successors in the archbishoprick of Sens. (i. 462.) Denzinger, who styles Otgar the "moral author" of the forgery, traces the depreciation of synods to the fact that he himself had been one of the bishops who suffered by the synod of Thionville. (ix.-x.) Hinschius thinks that the forgery was not in the interest of Mentz, but was executed in the province of Reims, although published in the kingdom of Charles the Bald, and intended to get the primacy over Brittany for the see of Tours (209-11); and that the Thionville reference has regard to Ebbo's deprivation. (See above p. 287.) 212.

[q] Præf. 4, e.

[r] As Walter (193) and Möhler ('Fragmente aus und über Pseudo-isidor,' in vol. i. of his 'Aufsätze'). Möhler maintains that the writer's object was to combat Arian and other heresy (287)—to supply a manual of

well not to judge him too severely for his imposture, but are bound to remember the vicious principles which his age had inherited from several centuries which preceded it as to the lawfulness of using falsehood for purposes which were supposed to be good: nor, although he differed from other forgers in the greatness of the scale on which he wrought, and although his forgery has exceeded all others in the importance of the results, would it be easy to show any essential moral difference between his act and the acts of others who had fabricated documents of less extent, or of the innumerable legendary writers who imposed on the world fictions as to the lives and miracles of saints.

It has been argued in the Roman interest, that the false decretals made no change in the actual system of the church.[s] The only considerable new claim, it is said, which they advanced in behalf of the pope, was that which regarded provincial councils; and this, it is added, never actually took effect.[t] To such arguments it has been answered that the system of the decretals was

orthodoxy, practical religion, morality, and pastoral care (288, 308). He speaks of him as a poet or novelist (*Dichter*), and of his work as *dieses Poëm* (297-8). He supposes him to have been a sincerely pious man, who had no intention of deceiving (305), but adopted the form of a fiction because he used the labours of others (308); and that he was obliged to suit himself to the circumstances of his own time by representing popes as having been from the beginning the general oracles of Christendom (294). It is a pity that the ingenious author of this theory was unable to illustrate it by the history of Solomon Spaulding's romance, which, in other hands, became the book of the Mormon revelation. Ellendorf answers Möhler at some length (ii. 175-86). That the moral and religious lessons were merely the framework, appears, he says, from the fact that they are but a third of the whole (175-6). Luden, in the tone which he usually affects in speaking of the mediæval church, goes far to extenuate the imposture. (v. 472-6.) Denzinger, although a Romanist, gives up Möhler's theory. (x.) Hinschius thinks that the object was to give a better collection than any before existing, to settle the church after the distractions of the reign of Lewis the Pious. 217-29.

[s] Döllinger, ii. 41-3; Walter, 196, seqq.; Denzinger, xiv.-xv.; Phillips, xix.-xxi. Rohrbacher is worthy of himself on this point. xvi.

[t] Walter, 201. The orders that a layman should not accuse a clerk were also imperative. Phillips, xix.

a direct reversal of that which immediately preceded them in the government of the Frankish church;[u] but the answer, although true, is even narrower than the proposition which it is intended to meet. To rest such a proposition on an analysis of the decretals is, however, obviously a fallacy. Although it may be shown in detail that this or that portion of them was older—that things which were now laid down universally had before been said with a more limited application—that claims had been made, that jurisdiction had been exercised; although, in truth, the main outline of the papacy had been marked out four centuries earlier by Leo the Great;—the consolidation of the scattered fragments into one body, the representation of the later papal claims as having come down by unbroken tradition from the apostolic times in the character of acknowledged rights, could not but produce a vast effect; and the difference between the earlier and the following history abundantly proves their influence.

The story of the introduction of these documents in France and at Rome will be given in the next chapter. Published in an uncritical age, they bespoke a favourable reception by holding out to various classes redress of their grievances and increase of their privileges; even those who were galled by them in one respect were glad, like Hincmar of Reims, to make use of them where it was convenient to do so. They were therefore admitted without any expressed doubt of their genuineness, although some questions were raised as to their application or obligatory power. In the next century, they were cited in a collection of canons by Regino, abbot of Prüm;[x] and they continued to be used by the compilers of simi-

[u] Ellendorf, ii. 86.

[x] Baluz. Præf. ad Regin. (Patrol. cxxxii. 179). For other collectors who used them, see Walter, § 100. Atto of Vercelli, a contemporary of Regino, cites them largely in his tract 'De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis.' (Patrol. cxxxiv.)

lar works, until in the twelfth century Gratian made them the foundation of his 'Decretum,' the great law-book of the church during the middle ages, and accommodated to their principles all the more genuine matter which he admitted.[y] Although sometimes called in question during the long interval before the Reformation,[z] they yet maintained their public credit; and, while the foundation has long been given up, even by the extremest writers of the Roman church, the superstructure yet remains.[a]

CHAPTER II.

THE FRANKISH CHURCH AND THE PAPACY, FROM THE DEATH OF LEWIS THE PIOUS TO THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT.

A.D. 840-887.

The history of the Carolingians after the death of Lewis the Pious is marked by a continuance of those scandalous enmities between the nearest kinsmen which had given so unhappy a character to his reign.[a] Sometimes these enmities were carried out into actual war; but after the battle of Fontenailles, in 841, where the loss is said to have amounted to 40,000 on one side, and on the other to 25,000 or 30,000,[b] they more commonly took the form

[y] Schröckh, xxii. 22.

[z] Ib. 34; Giesel. II. i. 188.

[a] Erasmus and Calvin declared them spurious, but the first attempt at critical proof of their spuriousness was in the Magdeburg "Centuries." Torres, a Jesuit, replied; but Blondel answered him in a manner which even such zealous Romanists as Walter (190) and Phillips (xxii.) admit to be conclusive. Wasserschleben (in Herzog, xii. 357) says that the only expression of doubt as to them which he is aware of in mediæval writers is in Stephen of Tournay (Ep. 251, Patrol. ccxi. 517, B.C.). But the words there seem to me rather to relate to later forgeries and collections.

[a] See Nithard, De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludov. in Pertz, iii.

[b] Martin, ii. 414. Some have made the total slaughter 100,000 (Murat

of intrigues, of insincere alliances, and selfish breaches of treaties.

Charlemagne had found great difficulty in keeping together the various elements of which his vast empire consisted. As often as he led his troops into any quarter, for the purpose of conquest or of suppressing rebellion, an insurrection usually broke out behind him.[c] In order to conciliate the nationalities which were united under his sceptre, he appointed kings to govern them, as in Aquitaine and in Italy. By his system, which was continued under Lewis, these kings were to be subordinate to the "senior" or head of the family; the whole empire was to be regarded as one, subject to the chief.[d] But in the beginning of the period now before us, this system is broken up; the delegated government by kings is found to have been the means of organizing the different nations for resistance to the idea of unity, and for asserting their independence of each other.[e] Language played an important part in the dissolution of the empire.[f] From the time of the Frank conquest of Gaul, Latin had been the language of the church and of the state, while German had been that of the army. The king and the chiefs were familiar with both; but in the south the Latin—(or rather the "rustic Roman," which differed from the more correct official Latin)—was native, and the German was acquired by learning, while the reverse was the case in the northern and eastern territories.[g] The populations which used these different languages as their mother-tongues now became separate. At the treaty of Strasburg, in 842, Lewis of Bavaria took an oath in German, while Charles of Neustria swore in

Annali, V. i. 3). But these numbers are beyond the truth, and perhaps the effects of the battle have been exaggerated. Luden, v. 416.

[c] Lehuërou, Institut. Merov. et Carol. ii. 558-9.

[d] Gfrörer, i. 64.

[e] Lehuërou, ii. 557.

[f] See Guizot, ii. 285-90.

[g] Sismondi, iii. 59-60; Gfrörer, i. 36.

the Romance dialect,[h] and they addressed their subjects in the same tongues respectively. The Romance oath is the oldest monument of French; the other is the oldest specimen of German after the baptismal renunciation of St. Boniface's time.[i] A like scene was enacted at Coblentz in 860, when, in pledging themselves to the observance of certain articles, Lewis and the younger Lothair employed the German language, and Charles the Romance.[k]

The treaty of Verdun, by which the empire was divided in 843 between the three sons of Lewis, established each of them in entire independence. The portion of the second brother, Lewis, may be broadly spoken of as *Germany*; Charles the Bald's share may with a like latitude be styled *France*;[l] while Lothair, the emperor, had a territory lying between the two—long and for the most part narrow, reaching from the mouths of the Weser and the Scheldt to the frontier of the duchy of Benevento, and including the two imperial cities—Rome, the ancient capital of the world, and Aix, the chief seat of Charlemagne's sovereignty. The Rhine served throughout a large portion of its course as the eastern boundary of this territory; but a deviation was made from it, in order that Lewis might include within his dominions Mentz, the see of Boniface and ecclesiastical metropolis of Germany, with the suffragan dioceses of Worms and Spires; while this cession was compensated to Lothair by a tract to the east of the river in the region of Berg and Cleves.[m] Lothair's kingdom, not being

[h] They are given by Nithard, iii. 5, in Pertz, ii. 665-6, with notes by J. Grimm.

[i] See p. 73, note [r]; Bähr, 62.

[k] Pertz, Leges, i. 473.

[l] The Gauls, unwilling to renounce the glory of three centuries and a half, now styled themselves *Franks*, and their country *Francia*, while the eastern Franks began to be called *Germans*. Sismondi, iii. 9-10.

[m] Gfrörer, i. 21-2, 54, 58. See the second map of Germany in Spruner's admirable Atlas, pt. ii.

marked out by any older boundaries of population or language, was called from him *Lotharingia*.[n] By a later partition, the portion of it north of the Alps was divided between Lewis and Charles the Bald, when Lewis added to his dominions the countries of the German and Belgic tongues, and Charles acquired those in which the Romance prevailed.[o] A.D. 870.

The feeling of nationality also showed itself in the rebellion of the Bretons under Nomenoë, who compelled Charles to acknowledge him as king, and established a new hierarchy under the archbishop of Dol, independent of the Roman connexion;[p] in the revolts of the Saxons, who killed or drove out their governors, and resumed the profession of paganism;[q] and in the subdivision of France towards the end of the century into a great number of petty principalities, although other causes also contributed to this result.[r]

Charlemagne had endeavoured to provide a defence against the northern pirates by fortifying the mouths of rivers; but this policy was now neglected.[s] No longer content with ravaging the coasts, the fierce barbarians of the north made their way in their "serpent"[t] barks up every river whose opening invited them, from the Elbe to the Adour. They repeatedly plundered the more exposed cities, such as Hamburg, Dorstadt, and Bordeaux; they ascended the Rhine to Mentz, and even to Worms; the Moselle to Treves; the Somme to Amiens; the Seine to Rouen and to Paris, once the Merovingian

[n] Gfrörer, i. 57. Hence the name of *Lorraine*, afterwards given to a part of it. Some writers have supposed that Lotharingia was called after the younger Lothair, son of the emperor; but see Bouquet, vii. 188.

[o] Pertz, Leges, i. 517; Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 370.

[p] Sismondi, iii. 90; Wiltsch, i. 471; Phillips, i. 34. For documents relating to Dol, see Martene, Thes. iii. 857, seqq.

[q] Sism. iii. 74.

[r] See Guizot, ii. 280; Stephen, i. 112.

[s] Einhard, A.D. 800, 811; Michelet, ii. 136.

[t] *Snekkar, drakar.* Depping, i. 71-2; Snorro Sturleson, by Laing, i. 441.

capital, and still the chief city of Neustria, rich in churches and in treasures, and having the royal monastery of St. Denys in its immediate neighbourhood. From Paris they made their way up the Marne to Meaux and Châlons, up the Yonne to Sens and Auxerre.[u] The Loire gave them a passage to Tours,[x] the city of St. Martin, and to Orleans;[y] the Vienne, to Limoges; the Charente, to Saintes and Angoulême; the Garonne, to Toulouse.[z] They sailed on to the Spanish peninsula, plundered Lisbon, passed the strait of Gibraltar, and successfully encountered the Arabs of Andalusia;[a] even the coast of Italy felt their fury.[b] Everywhere they pillaged, burnt, slew, outraged women, and carried off captives.[c] After a time, growing bolder through impunity, they would leave their vessels on the great rivers, and strike across the unresisting country to pillage inland places of noted wealth—such as Ghent, Beauvais, Chartres, Bourges, Reims, Laon, and Charlemagne's own city of Aix, where they stabled their horses in the imperial palace.[d] They established permanent camps, often on islands in the great rivers, and ravaged in a wide circle around them.[e] Many of these pirates were exiles or adventurers who had fled from other countries to the regions of the north;[f] many were men who had suffered from the forcible means employed by Charlemagne for

[u] Ang.-Sax. Chron. A.D 887.

[x] Baron. 845. 29, seqq., and Pagi's notes.

[y] Sismondi, iii. 85-7. For a list of places plundered by the Northmen, see Palgrave, 'Normandy and England,' i. 479-20, 582; for further details, Depping, 'Expéditions Maritimes des Normands,' Paris, 1826.

[z] Hist. de Languedoc, i. 751.

[a] Depping, i. 134-5.

[b] Ib. 165-9. See the story of their plundering the ancient Etruscan city of Luna. Dudo, in Patrol. cxli. 622-4; Guill. Gemet. i. 10 (ib cxlix.).

[c] Dudo, 622.

[d] Adam. Bremens. i. 40.

[e] Sismondi, iii. 120; Phillips, i. 20.

[f] Thus, one of the Hastingses (for of that name there were three famous sea-kings) is said to have been a native of the diocese of Troyes, of servile birth. Radulph. Glaber, i. 5, ap. Bouquet, x. 9. Cf. Depping, i. 121-3; Palgrave, i. 490.

the conversion of the pagans, or were the offspring of such men. Their enmity against Christianity was therefore fierce and unsparing; there was religious hatred, as well as the lust of spoil, in the rage which selected churches and monasteries as its especial objects. Wherever the approach of the Northmen was reported, the monks deserted their abodes, and fled, if possible, leaving their wealth to the invaders, and anxious only to rescue the relics of their patron saints.[g] The misery caused by these ravages was extreme. From dread of them, husbandry was neglected, and frequent famines ensued;[h] even wolves were allowed to prey and to multiply without any check.[i] The condition to which Aquitaine was reduced may be inferred from the fact that a bishop was translated from Bordeaux to Bourges on the ground that his former diocese had been rendered utterly desert by the pagans.[k] Many monks who had been driven from their cells threw off the religious habit, and betook themselves to a vagabond life.[l] And a striking proof of the terror inspired by the invaders is found in the insertion of a petition in the Gallican liturgies for deliverance "From the fury of the Northmen."[m]

However divided by dissensions among themselves, the Northmen always acted in concert as to the course which their expeditions should take. They kept a watch on the movements of the Carolingian princes, and were ready to take advantage in every quarter of their discords and of their weakness.[n] Sometimes, it would seem, they were not only attracted by the hope of booty, but were bribed by one of Charlemagne's descendants to attack the territories of another.[o]

[g] Sismondi, iii. 79.
[h] Ibid. 119.
[i] Palgrave, i. 432.
[k] Joh. VIII. Epp. 1, 4, 5, 12, ap. Hard. vi.
[l] Conc. Duziac. A.D. 860, c. 5.
[m] Palgrave, i. 460
[n] Ib. 320, 425-8; Luden, vi. 14.
[o] Ib. 171. This is much insisted on by the late Professor Gfrörer (*e.g.*

The martial spirit of the Franks had been exhausted by the slaughter of Fontenailles.[p] Many of the free landholders—the body on which the whole Frankish system mainly relied for national defence—sought a refuge from the miseries of the time by becoming serfs to abbots or nobles who were strong enough to protect them; and thus their military service was lost.[q] The Franks were distracted by faction, and, instead of combining to resist the common enemy, each party and each class was intent on securing its own selfish interests. The nobles in general stood aloof, and looked on without dissatisfaction while the Northmen pillaged towns or estates which belonged to the crown or to the church.[r] In a few cases the invaders met with a vigorous resistance—as from Robert "the Strong," the ancestor of the Capetian line,[s] and from his son Odo or Eudes, who, with the bishop, Gauzelin, valiantly defended Paris in 885.[t] But a more usual course was that of paying them a large sum as an inducement to depart for a time—an expedient which pressed heavily on the people, who were taxed for the payment, while it insured the return of the enemy after a short respite. A better, although not uniform, success attended the attempt to appease the northern chiefs with grants of land. They settled on these estates; they and their followers were baptized and took wives of the country, by means of whom the

Karol. i. 20, 135, 158, 411); and perhaps Dean Milman may have gone too far in altogether setting aside his views on the subject (ii. 356), although Gfrörer's constant straining after originality, and his parade of a paradoxical acuteness, interfere very seriously with the respect which his knowledge and abilities might claim.

[p] Regino, A.D. 842 (Pertz, i.); Guil. Gemet. i. 1 (Patrol. cxlix.); Sismondi, iii. 865.

[q] Ib. 168; Hallam, M. A. i. 16. The change took place chiefly between 830 and 860. Gfrörer, i. 390; comp. Leo, Gesch. v. Italien. i. 216.

[r] Luden, vi. 182; Gfrörer, i. 274, 281-2.

[s] Palgrave, i. 486.

[t] Annal. Vedast. (Pertz, i. 522-3); Abbo de Bello Parisiaco (ib. ii.); Depping, ii. 2, seqq.; Palgrave, i. 682 seqq

northern language was soon extinguished among their offspring; they became accustomed to their new homes, and gradually laid aside their barbarian ferocity.[u]

To the east, the Slave populations pressed on the German portions of the empire, and engaged its sovereigns in frequent wars;[x] and in the south of France, as well as in Italy, the Saracens were a foe not less terrible than the Northmen on the other coasts of the empire. An expedition from Spain had made them masters of Crete in 823. Four years later they landed in Sicily, and by degrees they got possession of the whole island, although it was not until after half a century (A.D. 876) that Syracuse fell into their hands.[y] They seized on Cyprus and Corsica, devastated the Mediterranean coast of France,[z] sailed up the Tiber, carried off the altar which covered the remains of St. Peter, and committed atrocious acts of rapine, lust, and cruelty.[a] The terror inspired by these adventurers—the offscourings of their race, which in Spain and in the east had become more civilized, and had begun to cultivate science and literature[b]—drove the inhabitants of the defenceless towns to seek refuge in forests and among mountains.[c] Some of the popes showed much energy in providing the means of protection against them. Gregory IV. rebuilt and fortified Ostia, to which he gave the name of Gregoriopolis.[d] Leo IV., who was hastily raised to the papal chair on an emergency when the Saracens threatened Rome, took very vigorous measures. He fortified Portus,

[u] Sismondi, iii. 114, 184-5; Palgrave, i. 503; Michelet, ii. 134-7.

[x] Luden, vi. 35; Palgrave, i. 410, seqq.

[y] Const. Porphyrog. ii. 21-7; Cedren. 508, 512; Gibbon, v. 200-9; Famin, 'Invasions des Sarrazins en Italie,' i. 140, 146, 347, 395 (Paris, 1843).

[z] Marseilles, which had suffered from them in 838, was again plundered by Greek pirates ten years later. Sismondi, iii. 92.

[a] A.D. 846. Chron. Casin. ap. Pertz, iii. 225-30, or Patrol. clxxiii.; Bened. Soract., ap. Pertz, iii. 712; Sismondi, iii. 89.

[b] Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 27.

[c] Anastas. 244.

[d] Ib. 226.

in which he planted a colony of Corsican refugees; drew a chain across the mouth of the Tiber, and repaired the walls of Rome. With the approbation of the emperor Lothair, who contributed largely to the expense, he enclosed within a wall the Transtiberine district which contained the church of St. Peter and the English Burg;[e] and to this new quarter he gave the name of the "Leonine City."[f] Nicolas I. also contributed to the defence of Rome by strengthening the fortifications and the garrison of Ostia.[g] But in the south of Italy the Saracens were triumphant. They established a sultan at Bari,[h] although after a time that city was recovered from them by the united forces of the western and eastern emperors, Lewis II. and Basil the Macedonian.[i] Naples, Amalfi, Salerno, and other cities, finding resistance impossible, entered into alliance with them, and joined them in plundering. But for dissensions among themselves, the Moslems would probably have become masters of the whole Italian peninsula.[k]

A.D. 852.

A.D. 871.

The royal power in France was greatly impaired by the changes of this period. Among the earlier Franks there had been no class of nobility, properly so called, but consideration had depended on wealth and power alone;[l] nor had the counts originally been landholders, but officers of the sovereign, invested with a dignity which was only personal and temporary. But from the time of the civil wars between Lewis the Pious and his sons, the Frankish princes found themselves obliged to pay those on whom they depended for support by a

[e] See p. 249.
Anastas. 240-3; Acta SS., Jul. 17; Gibbon, v. 209-10.
[g] Anastas. 260.
[h] Chron. Casin. 8.
[i] Const. Porphyrog. v. 55; Famin, i. 298. Muratori, however, denies that the Greeks shared in the capture (Annali, V. ii. 115).
[k] Erchempert, A.D. 876 (Pertz, iii.). Gibbon, v. 209.
[l] Perry, 416.

diminution of their own prerogatives and property.[m] The system was continued; at the diet of Quiercy, in 877, Charles the Bald, with a view of securing the consent of his chiefs to his projected expedition into Italy, granted that their lands should descend by inheritance, and only reserved to the sovereign the choice of a successor in cases where the tenant should die without male issue;[n] nay, as we shall see hereafter, in his eagerness to gain aid towards the extension of his dominions, he even consented that his crown should be regarded as elective.[o] The nobles, thus erected into a hereditary order, became more independent; they took advantage of the weakness of the sovereign; and, by the end of the century, the dismemberment of the empire had been so much imitated on a smaller scale that France was broken up into no fewer than twenty-nine independent states.[p]

The Frankish clergy suffered severely in their property during the troubles of the time. Not only did Lewis and his sons habitually employ the old resource of rewarding partisans with gifts of ecclesiastical benefices, but they even carried it further than before, by extending it to religious houses which had hitherto been regarded as exempt from this kind of danger. The abbey of St. Martin's itself—the most revered, as well as the richest, of all the sanctuaries of Gaul—was granted by Charles in benefice to Robert the Strong.[q] Almost every council has its piteous complaint that the property of the church is invaded in a manner more fitting for pagan enemies than for her own sons; that the poor, the

[m] Planck, iii. 18; Sismondi, iii. 221-2; Funck, 184.

[n] Pertz, Leges, i. 539, c. 9. See Ducange, s. v. *Comes*, p. 451; Sismondi, iii. 218; Stephen, i. 126; and Gfrörer, ii. 149, who shows that the effect of this concession was general, although in words it was granted to such only as should take part in the Italian expedition.

[o] Sismondi, iii. 223; Gfrörer, ii. 280.

[p] Guizot, ii. 280.

[q] Palgrave, i. 466, 468.

strangers, the pilgrims, the captives are deprived of the endowments founded for their relief; that hospitals, especially those of the Scots,[r] are diverted from their object, so that not only are guests not entertained, but those who had dwelt in them from infancy are turned out to beg from door to door; that some lands are alienated in such a way as to cut off all hope of recovery; that the sovereigns grossly abuse their patronage by bestowing spiritual offices on laymen.[s] The only weapon which the church could wield against the rapacious laity was excommunication; but neither spiritual terrors nor tales of judicial miracles were sufficient to check the evil.[t] Another frequent complaint relates to the decay of letters among the Franks.[u] Charles the Bald was a patron of learned men, and took pleasure in their society;[x] but, while literature enjoyed this courtly and superficial encouragement, the institutions by which Charlemagne had endeavoured to provide for the general instruction of his subjects were allowed to fall into neglect.[y]

But in other respects the clergy gained greatly. The sixth council of Paris, in 829, had asserted for them a right to judge kings.[z] This power had been exercised

[r] Walafrid Strabo says of the Scots (Irish), "Quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa est." Vita S. Galli, ii. 47 (Patrol. cxiv.)

[s] Conc. Aquisgr. A.D. 836, iii. 19; Conc. Theod-vill. A.D. 844, c. 3 (Pertz, Leges, i. 381); Conc. Vern. II. A.D. 844, cc. 12, etc. (ib. 383-5); Conc. Sparnac. A.D. 846 (ib. 389-90); Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, cc. 40, 41, 75, etc.; Conc. Carisiac. A.D. 858, Ep. ad Ludov. (Hard. v. 466, seqq.); Conc. Sparnac. A.D. 859, c. 14; Conc. Duziac. II. A.D. 874 (Hard. vi. 148-9); Conc. Trecass. II. A.D. 878, c. 3, etc.

[t] Sismondi, iii. 126, 150.

[u] *E.g.*, Conc. Valent. IV. A.D. 855 c. 18; Conc. Tull. ad Saponarias, A.D 859, vi. 10 (Hard. v. 499).

[x] Heric of Auxerre, in his dedication of the Life of St. German to Charles, speaks of Greece as deserted by her scholars, that they might flock to the Frankish court, and describes Ireland as "pene totam cum grege philosophorum ad littora nostra migrantem." Patrol. cxxiv. 1133.

[y] Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 166-7. Many cathedral and monastic schools, however, continued to flourish. See Hist. Litt. iv. 224, seqq.; Bähr, 39-45.

[z] Lib. iii. 8, citing a speech ascribed by Rufinus to Constantine (Hist. Eccl.

against Lewis by the rebellious bishops at Compiègne, and his restoration had not been accomplished without a formal act of the church.[a] Charles the Bald admitted it, as against himself, at the council of Savonnières, in 859;[b] and in all the disagreements of the Carolingians each prince carried his grievances to the pope—thus constituting the Roman see a general court of appeal, and weakening the rights of all sovereigns by such submission. Ecclesiastical judgments were popularly regarded as the judgments of God.[c] Bishops asserted for themselves an exclusive jurisdiction in all matters relating to the clergy,[d] and, by the superintendence which they exercised over morals, they were able to turn every scandal of the royal house to the advantage of the church.[e] They became more and more active in politics;[f] they claimed the power of bestowing the crown, and Charles appears to have acknowledged the claim.[g] Yet, although they endeavoured to gain for themselves an exemption from all secular control, that prince still kept a hold on them by means of his *missi*.[h]

The most prominent among the French ecclesiastics of this time was Hincmar, a man of strong, lofty, and resolute character, of a mind at once subtle and eminently practical, of learning which, although uncritical and indifferently digested, raised him above almost all his contemporaries, and of great political talent.[i] Hincmar was born in 806, of a noble family in Neustria, and at an early age entered the monastery of St. Denys,

i. 2). The substance of this council is identical with a treatise, 'De Institutione Regia,' by Jonas, bishop of Orleans (Patrol. cvi. 279, seqq.).

[a] See pp. 284-6.

[b] C. 3 (Pertz, Leges, i. 462); Guizot, ii. 326.

[c] Planck, iii. 23.

[d] Ib. 22.

[e] Schröckh, xxii. 443; Sismondi, iii. 143.

[f] Ib. 133.

[g] Michelet, ii. 126-7. See below

[h] *E.g.*, Convent. Sparnac. A.D. 846 (Pertz, Leges, i. 389); Capit. Mersen. A.D. 847 (ib. 394), c. 3; Convent. Silvan. A.D. 853 (ib. 423-6).

[i] Hist. Litt. v. 587, 590; Planck, iii. 103: Sismondi, iii. 147-8.

where he became a monk under Hilduin.[k] He took an active part in restoring the discipline of the house, and to the end of his days he observed the monastic severity of life.[l] His attachment to his abbot was shown by becoming the companion of Hilduin's exile in 830;[m] but notwithstanding this, and although his own feelings were no doubt in favour of the unity of the empire, he withstood all Hilduin's attempts to draw him into rebellion, and to the last preserved the favour of Lewis, by means of which he was able to effect his superior's recall.[n] In 845 he was promoted to the archbishoprick of Reims, which had not been regularly filled since the deposition of Ebbo, ten years before. He accepted the see on condition that the property which had been alienated from it to laymen during the vacancy should be restored;[o] and he held it for thirty-nine years. His province, and even his diocese, were partly in Neustria and partly in Lotharingia[p]—a circumstance which brought him into connexion with the sovereigns of both countries. To him, as the successor of St. Remigius, it belonged to crown kings, and to take the chief part in state solemnities;[q] and he gave full effect to his position. His political influence was immense; he steadily upheld the cause of the church against both the crown and the nobles, and in its behalf he often opposed the princes to whose interests in other respects he was zealously devoted.[r] But most especially he was the champion of the national church and of the rights of his sovereign against the growing claims of the papacy.[s]

[k] Opera, ii. 304

[l] Flodoard, iii. 1 (Patrol. cxxxv.).

[m] Ib.; Prichard's Life of Hincmar, 97 (Littlemore, 1849).

[n] Flodoard, iii. 1.

[o] Ib. 4; Prichard, 96-9.

[p] Opera, ii. 310, 694.

[q] Hist. Litt. v. 546; Guizot, ii. 352.

[r] Hist. Litt. v. 588; Guizot, ii. 354-5.

[s] Sismondi says that in his contests with Nicolas I. Hincmar seemed to be restrained by the feeling that his appointment was open to question (iii. 148). But it *was* investigated, and it would appear that he had really nothing to fear in this respect, so that we

The popes endeavoured to take advantage of the weakness of Charlemagne's descendants in order to shake off the golden chains with which the great emperor had bound them, and in this endeavour they were greatly aided by the effect of the partition of the empire; inasmuch as they were thenceforth in no way subject to any prince except the one who held the imperial title and the kingdom of Italy, while they were yet brought into relation with all the Carolingian sovereigns, and became general arbiters between them.[t]

On the death of Gregory IV., in 844, Sergius II., after some tumultuary opposition from a rival named John,[u] was consecrated without waiting for the imperial confirmation. Lothair, indignant at the slight thus shown to his authority, sent his son Lewis to call the new pope to account. The prince was accompanied by Drogo, bishop of Metz, with a numerous train of prelates and counts, and was at the head of a large army, which is said, in its advance towards Rome, to have committed much wanton slaughter and devastation, and to have lost many of its soldiers, who, in punishment of their misdeeds, as was believed, were slain by lightning. Sergius received Lewis with the usual honours, but would not permit his troops to enter the city; nor would he allow the doors of St. Peter's to be opened to him, until, in answer to a solemn adjuration, the prince had professed that he came without any evil intention, for the good of Rome and of the church. The pope crowned him as king of the Lombards, but resisted

must rather suppose him to have been restrained by political considerations. M Guizot well describes him as a mixture of the logician with the man of business, the practical part of his character controlling the other; and points to Bossuet as a parallel (ii. 358-6). M. Ampère, whose estimate of Hincmar is unfavourable, says that in his character "il y a de l'évêque de Meaux *et un peu de l'évêque d'Autun*" (iii. 168). The authors of the 'Histoire Littéraire' are also unfavourable to him, chiefly on account of his behaviour to Gottschalk, whose cause they, as Augustinians, espouse.

[t] Planck, iii. 26-8, 31.

[u] Anastas. 227.

a proposal that the Romans should be required to swear allegiance to him, on the ground that such oaths were due to the emperor alone. He consented, however, that a fresh oath should be taken to the emperor.[x] Drogo returned to France with a commission[y] appointing him primate and papal vicar, and conferring on him in that character large privileges and jurisdiction; but on finding that some question was raised as to the reception of this instrument by a synod to which he exhibited it, he refrained from urging his pretensions.[z]

Sergius died after a pontificate of three years, and Leo IV. was chosen by general acclamation. The Romans were in great perplexity; the imminent danger with which they were threatened by the Saracens required them to proceed to an immediate consecration, while they were afraid to repeat their late offence against the Frank empire. They therefore fell on the expedient of consecrating Leo with an express reservation of the imperial rights, and it would seem that this course was allowed to pass without objection.[a] Towards the end of Leo's pontificate, Lothair, having been informed that a high Roman officer had expressed himself against the Frankish connexion, and had proposed a revolt to the Greek empire, went to Rome, and held an inquiry into the case. The librarian Anastasius tells us that the charge was proved to be imaginary, and that the accuser was given up to the accused, from whom the emperor begged him.[b] But

A.D. 847.

[x] Anastas. 227-9. Schröckh questions this writer's account of the affair as too favourable to the pope (xxii. 68). Luden thinks that Sergius outwitted Lewis (vi. 9). Muratori takes occasion to observe that the practice of conferring the kingdom of Italy by the iron crown at Monza, Milan, or Pavia, was not yet introduced. Annali, V. i. 20.

[y] Hard. iv. 1463-6.

[z] Conc. Vern. II. c. 11 (Pertz, Leges, i. 385); Hincmar, ii. 737; De Marca, VI. xxix. 3.

[a] Anastas. 231; Murat. Annali, V. i. 31. The misstatements of Baronius as to this are exposed by Pagi, xiv. 348, seqq.

[b] Anastas. 246. Gfrörer thinks that Anastasius does not tell the truth, and

the pope was required, probably in consequence of this affair, to promise obedience to the emperor and his commissioners.[c] A remarkable innovation was introduced by Leo in his correspondence with sovereigns, by setting his own name before that of the prince to whom he wrote, and omitting the word *Domino* in the address—a change which intimated that St. Peter's successors no longer owned any earthly master.[d]

Benedict III. was elected as the successor of Leo; but he met with a very serious opposition from Anastasius,—probably the same with a cardinal of that name who under the last pontificate had been deposed, chiefly for his attachment to the Frankish interest.[e] Anastasius got possession of St. Peter's and of St. John Lateran, and (perhaps in the hope of recommending himself to the Franks, whom he may have A.D. 855.

that there was a real conspiracy (i. 287).

[c] Giesel. II. i. 49.

[d] Ib. 48; see Garnier, in Patrol. cv. 119-30. The fabulous female pope, Joan, is inserted between Leo and Benedict. Had such a story been known at Rome in the middle of the eleventh century, Leo IX would not have ventured, in writing to the patriarch of Constantinople, to mention a rumour that the Byzantine church "eunuchos passim promovendo fœminam in sede pontificum suorum sublimasset aliquando." (Hard. vi. 940.) The Greeks afterwards took up the story in its full development, as a weapon against Rome. (See L. Chalcocondylas, in the fifteenth century, l. v. p. 160.) The first writers, unsuspected of forgery or interpolation, in whom it is found, are Stephen de Borbone and Mart. Polonus (Pertz, xxii. 428)—both of the thirteenth century; and it is wanting in some MSS. of Martin (see Schilter, Scriptores Rer. Germ. 363, ed. Argent. 1702; Pertz, xxii. 386). Its origin is referred by many writers to the degradation of the papacy under female influence, which followed soon after this time. (See Baron. 853. 56-69; Ciacon. i. 626-40; Pagi, xiv. 424; Mabill. Annal. iii. 41; Schröckh, xxii. 75-110; Bayle, artt. *Papesse* and *Polonus;* Gibbon, iv. 512-13; Giesel. II. i. 29-32; Guericke, ii. 113.) Luden is inclined to favour the tale (vi. 513-17). Gfrörer very confidently proposes some wild conjectures on the subject (i. 289). Döllinger (Papst-Fabeln, i. 45) traces the growth of the story with great learning, and derives it from the popular misinterpretation of some ancient monuments at Rome, and of a ceremony formerly used in the inauguration of popes. The fury of the Bollandist Du Sollier against this "fabella sexcenties jam exsufflata, convulsa, et obtrita," is amusing. See Acta SS., Jul. 17, p. 307.

[e] Leo IV. Epp. 7, 13 (Patrol. cxv.); Anast. 224; Baron. 853. 3-5; Gfrörer, i. 288. See Mabill. Annal. iii. 35.

possibly supposed to be iconoclasts) he is said to have broken and burnt the images which adorned the churches.[f] He was aided by Frankish soldiers, and gained over the envoys who were sent to ask the imperial confirmation of his rival's election; he stripped Benedict of his robes, insulted him, and beat him. But the clergy and people of Rome adhered to Benedict, and their demonstrations prevailed on the emperor's commissioners to sanction his consecration.[g]

Benedict was succeeded by Nicolas I., who, according to a contemporary annalist, owed his elevation rather to the presence and favour of Lewis II., Lothair's successor in the empire, than to the choice of the Roman clergy.[h] At his consecration it has been commonly said that the new ceremony of coronation was introduced—a ceremony which may have had its origin in the fable that a golden crown had been bestowed on Sylvester by Constantine,[i] and which was intended to assert for the pope the majesty of an earthly sovereign, in addition to that higher and more venerable dignity which claimed not only precedence but control over all earthly power.[k] And when, soon after, Nicolas visited the camp of Lewis, the emperor, after the pretended example of the first Christian emperor, did him reverence by holding his bridle, and by walking at his side as he rode.[l]

A.D. 858.

[f] Anast. 247-8; Gfrörer, i. 293-4.

[g] Anast. 249; Milman, ii. 275.

[h] Annales Bertiniani (in this part written by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes), Pertz, i. 452.

[i] See p. 177. But Giesebrecht says that the idea of this pope's having introduced the ceremony of coronation rests only on a mispunctuation of Anastasius—that for "coronatur denique, urbs exultat, clerus lætatur, senatus et populi plenitudo magnifice gratulabatur," we ought to read "coronatur denique urbs, exultat clerus, lætatur senatus," etc. He quotes from the form for an imperial coronation in Pertz, Leges, ii. 1923, the words "coronetur urbs," and says that the earliest ascertained coronation of a pope is that of Nicolas II. iii. 1085.

[k] Anast. 253; Schröckh, xxii. 112.

[l] Anast. 253. In the 'Donation' Constantine is made to say, "Tenentes frænum ipsius [Sylvestri] pro reverentia B. Petri stratoris officium illi exhibuimus." (Patrol. clxxxvii. 464.) Pipin had set an example. See above, p. 93.

Nicolas was one of those popes who stand forth in history as having most signally contributed to the advancement of their see. The idea entertained of him shortly after his death is remarkably expressed by Regino of Prüm, who speaks of him as surpassing all his predecessors since the great Gregory; as giving commands to kings and tyrants, and ruling over them as if lord of the whole world; as full of meekness and gentleness in his dealings with bishops and clergy who were worthy of their calling, but terrible and austere towards the careless and the refractory; as another Elias "in spirit and in power."[m] He was learned, skilful in the management of affairs, sincerely zealous for the enforcement of discipline in the church, filled with a sense of the importance of his position, ambitious, active, and resolute in maintaining and advancing it. He took advantage of the faults or vices of the Frank princes—their ambition, their lust, or their hatred—to interpose in their affairs, and with great ability he played them against each other. His interposition was usually in the interest of justice, or in the defence of weakness; it was backed by the approbation of the great body of the people, who learnt to see in him the representative of heaven, ready everywhere to assert the right, and able to restrain the wicked who were above the reach of earthly law;[n] and doubtless he was able to conceal from himself all but what was good in his motives. But those of his acts which in themselves were praiseworthy, were yet parts of a system which in other cases appeared without any such creditable veil—a scheme of vast ambition for rendering all secular power subject to the church, and all national churches subject to Rome.[o]

[m] Regino, A.D. 868 (Pertz, i. 579).

[n] Giesel. II. i. 196; Gfrörer, 1. 297-8.

[o] One of this pope's smaller triumphs may be mentioned in a note. John, archbishop of Ravenna—a see which had often before given trouble to the popes—set up high pretensions to independence. But he was disappointed in his hopes of support from Lewis II..

Of the controversies or disputes of this time—which must be treated severally, since it is a less evil to sacrifice the display of their simultaneous progress than for its sake to throw the narrative into hopeless confusion—two related to important points of doctrine—the Eucharistic Presence, and Predestination.

I. We have already seen that, with respect to the eucharist, there had been a gradual increase of mystical language; and that expressions were at first used rhetorically and in a figurative sense, which, if literally construed, would have given an incorrect idea of the current doctrine.[p] In the west the authority of St. Augustine had generally acted as a safeguard against materializing views of the eucharistic presence;[q] but an important step toward the establishment of such views was now made by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbie. Paschasius had been brought up in that monastery under Adelhard and Wala, whose biographer he afterwards became. He had been master of the monastic school, and had laboured as a commentator on the Scriptures. In 844 he was elected abbot; but the disquietudes which were brought on him by that dignity induced him to resign it in 851, and he lived as a private monk until his death in 865.[r]

In 831, Paschasius, at the request of his old pupil Warin, who had become abbot of the daughter monastery

and, being excommunicated by Nicolas, he was reduced to a very abject state. In order to obtain absolution, he bound himself to repair to Rome once a year, and submitted to a limitation of his power over his own suffragans, whom he was not to consecrate without the pope's permission (A.D. 861-2). Anastas. 254-6; Baron. 861. 57-64; Milman, ii. 289-90.

[p] ii. 361; iii. 235-6.

[q] Ebrard, i. 309, seqq.; Giesel. I. ii. 117. Villiers, the editor of Fulbert's works, finding in them a quotation where it is said that our Lord's words as to eating His body are a *figure*, inserted "Dicet hæreticus"; but, being informed that the quotation was from St. Augustine, he coolly put his own interpolation into the table of errata, with the note, "Interpretatio est mystica." (Patrol. clxi. 333; Schröckh, xxiii. 506).

[r] Hist. Litt. v. 289; Pagi. xiv. 390. On this controversy see the articles *Radbert* and *Ratramn* in Herzog, xii.

of New Corbey,[s] on the Weser, drew up a treatise on the eucharist for the instruction of the younger monks of that society.[t] Soon after his appointment to the abbacy of his own house, in 844, he presented an improved edition of the work to Charles the Bald, who had requested a copy of it. In this treatise[u] the rhetoric of earlier writers is turned into unequivocally material definitions. Paschasius lays it down that although after the consecration the appearance of bread and wine remain, yet we must not believe anything else to be really present than the body and blood of the Saviour—the same flesh which was born of the blessed Virgin—the same in which He suffered on the cross and rose from the grave.[x] This doctrine is rested on the almighty power of God; the miracles of Scripture are said to have been wrought in order to prepare the way for it and to confirm it; that the elements remain unchanged in appearance and in taste, is intended, according to Paschasius, as an exercise of our faith.[y] The miraculous production of the Saviour's body is paralleled with his conception as man.[z] Tales are adduced of miracles by which the reality hidden under the appearance of the elements was visibly revealed.[a] The doctrine afterwards known as Transubstantiation appears to be broadly expressed; but, contrary to the later practice of Rome, Paschasius insists on the necessity of receiving the cup as well as the eucharistic bread.[b]

[s] See Patrol. civ. 1128-31.

[t] Pagi, xiv. 173; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VI. viii.-x.

[u] 'De Corp. et Sanguine Domini' (in Bibl. Patr. Lugd. xiv. or Patrol. cxx.).

[x] Cc. 1, 10. It seems to be chiefly in thus maintaining the *identity* of the body, that Paschasius goes beyond John of Damascus. See p. 235; Joh. Dam. de Fid. Orthod. iv. 13 (t. i. 169); Dupin, vii. 65. Mabillon attempts to show that it was only at the expression of this idea that the contemporaries of Paschasius were offended, and argues very unsuccessfully that there was ancient authority for it (Acta SS. Ben. VI. Præf. xxiv.-xxxii.).

[y] C. 1.

[z] C. 4.

[a] C. 14.

[b] C. 19. On the slight differences

Paschasius had professed to lay down his doctrine as being that which was established in the church; but protests were immediately raised against it.[c] Raban Maur,[d] Walafrid Strabo,[e] Florus,[f] and Christian Druthmar,[g] all of them among the most learned men of the age, objected to the idea of any other than a spiritual change in the eucharist, and denounced it as a novelty. Even among his own community, the views of Paschasius excited alarm and opposition. One of his monks named Frudegard expressed uneasiness on account of the abbot's apparent contradiction to St. Augustine, so that Paschasius found it necessary to defend himself by the authority of earlier writers, among whom he especially relied on St.

between the doctrine of Paschasius and that afterwards sanctioned, see Basnage, 910. Bishop Cosin, after having, in the draft of his work on Transubstantiation, given the usual view of Paschasius's opinions, maintained in the treatise, when published, that he did *not* teach transubstantiation (Works, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. iv. 79-81); and in our own day Ebrard has argued that he taught only a *spiritual* presence, by *power* or *virtual effect* (i. 410-12). But the very chapter in which the word *potentialiter* occurs (c. 4) goes on to language and illustrations which seem clearly to show that the representation usually given of the writer, both by friends and by opponents, is correct. To the same purpose are the stories of miracles (c. 14), which Bishop Cosin is obliged to dispose of by supposing them interpolated (p. 81). The utmost that Professor Ebrard appears to establish is an *inconsistency* in the doctrine of Paschasius (411-16). [Since this volume was first published, Archdeacon Freeman has also denied that Paschasius taught the doctrine which is commonly ascribed to him (Principles of Divine Service, ii. 35-40). But see the masterly reply in Bishop Thirlwall's Charge for 1857, Appendix B, where cc. 12, 13, 16, are especially brought forward in evidence.]

[c] This fact is enough to disprove the argument of Mabillon (Acta SS Ben. VI. xv.) and of Pagi (xiv. 173), that so learned a man could not have mistaken the church's doctrine.

[d] De Institutione Clericorum, i. 31; iii. 13 (Patrol. cvii.); Pœnitentiale, 83 (ib. cx.); compare Ep. 3 (ib. cxii.)—a piece which Mabillon found with the title 'Dicta cujusdam sapientis,' and identified with a letter which Raban speaks of himself as having written to Eigil on the doctrine of Paschasius (Pœnit. l. c.). Mabillon's conjecture, however, has been questioned. See Gieseler, II. i. 120.

[e] De Rebus Eccles. 16-17 (ib. cxiv.).

[f] Adv. Amalar. 9 (ib. cxix.).

[g] In Matt. xxvi. 26 (ib. cvi. 1476). Druthmar was distinguished as a commentator who, contrary to the usual practice of his time, followed the literal and historical explanation of Scripture (Schröckh, xxiii. 269; Hist. Litt. v.). For the history of the manner in which Romish writers have dealt with this writer's testimony, see Maitland, Catal. of Early Printed Books in Lambeth Library, 368-72; Herzog, iii. 532

Ambrose.[h] And the chief opponent of the doctrine was another monk of Corbie, Ratramn, who examined the abbot's book at the request of Charles the Bald,[i] and answered it, although, in consideration of his relation to Paschasius, he did not name the author. Ratramn divides the question into two heads: (1) Whether the body and blood of Christ be present in figure or in truth; (2) Whether it be the same body which was born of the Virgin, suffered, rose again, and ascended. He defines *figure* to mean that the reality is veiled under something else, as where our Lord styles himself a vine; and *truth* to mean, that the reality is openly displayed. Although, he says, the elements remain outwardly the same as before consecration, the body and blood of Christ are presented, in them, not to the bodily senses, but to the faithful soul.[k] And this must be in a figurative way; for otherwise there would be nothing for faith, "the evidence of things not seen," to work on; the sacrament would not be a mystery, since in order to a mystery there must be something beyond what is seen.[l] The change is not material, but spiritual;[m] the elements, while in one respect they continue bread and wine, are in another respect, by spirit and potency, the body and blood of Christ,[n] even as the element of water is endued with a spiritual power in order to the sacrament of baptism.[o] That which is visible and corruptible in them feeds the body; that which is matter of belief is itself immortal, sanctifies the soul, and feeds it unto everlasting life.[p] The body of Christ must be incorruptible; therefore that which is corruptible in the sacrament is but the figure of the reality.[q] Ratramn clears the interpretation

[h] Ad. Frudeg., Bibl. Patrum, xiv. 754, seqq.

[i] Ratramn, de Corp. et Sang. Domini, Oxon. 1838, or Patrol. cxxi. c. 1.

[k] Cc. 9-10.

[l] C. 11.

[m] C. 12.

[n] Cc. 13-16.

[o] Cc. 17-18.

[p] Cc. 19, 49.

[q] Cc. 86-7

of the passages which had been quoted from St. Ambrose in favour of the opposite view.[r] He cites St. Augustine and St. Isidore of Seville as agreeing in his own doctrine;[s] and argues from the liturgy that the Saviour's presence must be spiritual and figurative, since the sacrament is there spoken of as a pledge, an image, and a likeness.[t]

John Scotus, who will be more particularly mentioned hereafter, is said to have also written on the question, at the desire of Charles the Bald; but if so, his book is lost.[u] His other works contain grounds for thinking that

[r] Cc. 51-69

[s] Cc. 33-6, 41-5, 77-8, 93-6.

[t] Cc. 84-6. Ratramn's book was first printed in 1532, and in that and other editions he is called Bertram. Some Romanists declared it to be a forgery of the Reformers, and it was classed by the council of Trent among forbidden books. An attempt was afterwards made by some divines of Louvain and Douay to show that it was tolerable; but the use made of it by the reformed stood in the way of this opinion. It is excluded from the Lyons Bibliotheca (t. xv.), where other works of Ratramn are given, under the pretext that it had been corrupted by heretics. Mabillon (Acta SS. Ben. VI. l. seqq.), Boileau (Patrol. cxxi.), the authors of the 'Hist. Littéraire' (iv. 260; v. 397), and others, have, however, attempted to show that the treatise is identical in doctrine with that of Paschasius — an opinion which the Abbé Rohrbacher maintains with his usual amount of modesty and good sense (xii. 85-7). See Mosheim, ii. 233; Schröckh, xxiii. 479. Amid these conflicting views, the English church may fairly claim Ratramn as an ally, since Bishop Ridley was converted by this book from a belief in transubstantiation, and it served as a model for the doctrine of our Reformation. Ridley, ed. Park. Soc. 159.

[u] It appears that the early quotations which profess to be from Scotus on the eucharist are really from Ratramn's book, and that mediæval writers who speak of a book by the one do not name the other; and to this Gieseler would trace the notion of Scotus having written on the subject (II. i 123-4). But, as Neander observes (vi. 217-18), the confusion between the books is hardly enough to warrant us in supposing that Scotus did not write at all. De Marca (ap. D'Acher. Spicil. iii. 852) had supposed Ratramn's book to be really the work of Scotus, but was confuted by Mabillon. (Acta SS. Ben VI. xliv.-vii.; Annal. iii. 67-8. See Dupin, vii. 67-8, Bähr, 474.) Gieseler's opinion has been supported by Laufs; against it see Gfrörer, Kirchengesch. iii. 921-2. Dr Floss thinks that Scotus did not write a special treatise on the eucharist, but that his opinions on that subject were contained in his commentary on St. John (Patrol. cxxii. Præf xxi.). Dr. Christlieb supposes that Scotus may have been asked by Charles the Bald to give an opinion on the question, that he wrote a short letter on it, in opposition to the views of Paschasius, and that hence Ratramn's book, which at first appeared anonymously, may have been ascribed to Scotus. (Leben und Lehre des Joh. Scotus Erigena,

he viewed the eucharist as a merely commemorative rite, and that on this, as on other points, he was regarded as heterodox.[x] While the most learned divines of the age in general opposed Paschasius, his doctrine appears to have been supported by the important authority of Hincmar,[y] although it is doubtful whether the archbishop really meant to assert it in its full extent, or is to be understood as speaking rhetorically; and Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, a commentator of great reputation, lays it down as strongly as the abbot of Corbie himself.[z] The controversy lasted for some time; but the doctrine of Paschasius, which was recommended by its appearance of piety, and by its agreement with the prevailing love of the miraculous, gained the ascendency within the following century.[a]

II. Throughout the west St. Augustine was revered as the greatest of all the ancient fathers, and the chief

Gotha, 1860, pp. 70, 78-9.) A later biographer of Scotus, Huber (Munich, 1861), also thinks that his utterances on this subject were occasional. 100-2.

[x] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VI. Præf. lxiv.; Schrockh, xxiv. 482; Neand. vi. 217-18. Hincmar says of Prudentius and Scotus that, among other errors, they held "quod sacramenta altaris non verum corpus et verus sanguis sint Domini, sed tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus" (De Prædest. 31, t. i. p. 232). A little additional light has been thrown on John's eucharistic doctrine by an imperfect commentary on St. John, which was first published by M. Ravaisson in 1849, and appears to be truly ascribed to him. From this, as from some passages in his work 'De Divisione Naturæ,' it would seem that his view of the sacrament was connected with a belief that the Saviour's body was changed after the resurrection into a "reasonable soul" which is everywhere present (In Evang. Joh. Fragm. i., Patrol. cxxii. 312; De Div. Nat. v. 20, ib. 894; 38, ib. 992; Floss, Præf. ix.). "Spiritualiter eum immolamus, et intellectualiter, mente non dente, comedimus" (col. 311, b). The commentary unfortunately breaks off before entering on the critical part of chapter vi., perhaps, as Dr. Floss supposes (p. x.), because the transcriber was unwilling to reproduce the suspected doctrines of Scotus on the eucharist. In his 'Expositions on Dionysius the Areopagite' (ib. 140), Scotus, although decidedly against Paschasius, speaks also against those who hold "visibilem eucharistiam nil aliud significare præter se ipsam." See Floss, note ib., 141; Huber, 103.

[y] Hincm. ii. 99-100.

[z] De Corp. et Sang. Dom., Patrol. cxviii. 815-18.

[a] Schröckh, xxiii. 487-8; Giesel. II. 1. 126-7.

teacher of orthodoxy ; yet his system was not in general thoroughly held. The councils which had been assembled on account of the Pelagian doctrines had occupied themselves with the subject of Grace, and had not given any judgment as to Predestination ; and the followers of Augustine had endeavoured to mitigate the asperities of his tenets on this question. The prevailing doctrine was of a milder tone ; in many cases it was not far from Semipelagianism,[b] and even where it could not be so described, it fell so far short of the rigid Augustinianism that a theologian who strictly adhered to this might have fairly charged his brethren with unfaithfulness to the teaching of the great African doctor.[c]

Gottschalk,[d] the son of a Saxon count, was in boyhood placed by his father in the monastery of Fulda. On attaining to man's estate, however, he felt a strong distaste for the life of a monk, and in 829 he applied for a release from his vows to a synod held at Mentz under Archbishop Otgar. His petition was granted, on the ground that he had been devoted to the monastic profession before he could exercise any will of his own. But the abbot of Fulda, Raban Maur, the pupil of Alcuin, and himself the greatest teacher of his time,[e] appealed to Lewis the Pious, arguing that persons offered by their parents, although without their own choice, were bound by the monastic obligations ; and the emperor overruled the synod's decision.[f]

[b] See vol. ii. p. 315.

[c] Schröckh, xxiv. 119-21 ; Neand. vi. 178 ; Giesel. II. i. 128.

[d] *Schalk*, in old German, signified a *servant*, although its meaning has undergone the same change as that of our own word *knave*. *Gottschalk*, therefore, = *servant of God*. The Epistle to Titus begins in the Gothic version "Paulus, skalks Guths." Patrol. xviii. 857.

[e] Neand. vi. 156. He was perhaps born in 786, and he died in 856 (Acta SS., Feb. 4 ; Kunstmann, 'Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus,' 14, 159, Mainz, 1844). The name of Maurus was given by Alcuin in remembrance of St. Maur, the disciple of St. Benedict. Ib. 37 ; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vi. 20.

[f] Schröckh, xxiv. 5-6 ; Kunstmann, 70. Raban's tract 'De Oblatione Puerorum, contra eos qui repugnant

Although compelled to remain a monk, Gottschalk was allowed to remove from Fulda, where his relation to Raban would have been inconvenient, to Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. Here he gave himself up to the study of Augustine and his followers; he embraced their peculiarities with enthusiasm, and such was his especial love for the works of Fulgentius that his friends usually called him by the name of that writer.[g] It is a characteristic circumstance that one of the most eminent among these friends, Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, in a letter of this period, charges him with an immoderate fondness for speculation, and exhorts him to turn from it to matters of a more practical kind.[h] Hincmar, on the report of the abbot of Orbais, describes Gottschalk while there as restless, changeable, bent on perversities, addicted to argument, and apt to misrepresent what was said by others in conversation with him; as scorning to be a disciple of the truth, and preferring to be a master of

institutis B. Patris Benedicti' (Patrol. cvii.), really belongs to this time, although Migne has erroneously dated it in 819. (Hefele, iv 125.) Gottschalk's claim might seem to have been countenanced by the council of Mentz, in 813 (c. 23), which is against compelling persons to be monks or clergy; but Mabillon argues (Acta SS. Ben. VI. cvi.) that it did not intend to forbid the oblation of boys. The capitulary for monks enacted at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817 (see p. 273) orders that boys offered by their parents shall confirm the obligation "tempore intelligibili" (c. 36); but it is not said that they may decline the monastic life. In earlier times the rule had been that boys who were offered by their parents should, on attaining the years of discretion, have the choice between continuing in the monastic life and withdrawing from it. This was prescribed by the second council of Toledo, in 541 (c. 1), but the fourth council of the same place (A.D. 633, c. 49) lays down that, whether devoted by themselves or by their parents, those who enter on the monastic life shall be bound to remain in it. See Bingham, VII. iii. 5. The rule of Cluny afterwards ordered that the benediction of boys should not take place under the age of fifteen, and in this other orders, popes, and at length the council of Trent, agreed. Mabill. VI. cvi.-cvii. See Petr. Venerab. Statuta, c. 36 (Patrol. clxxxix.), Hugonis Statuta, c. 6 (ib. ccix.), where the age is twenty; Conc. Trid., Sess. xxv. c. 15; Ducange, s. v. *Oblati*; Mabill. Analecta, 157, seqq.; Nat. Alex. xiii. 374; Thomass. de Benef. I. iii. 57-8.

[g] He is so styled by Walafrid Strabo, in a poem (Patrol. cxiv. 1115).

[h] Serv. Lup. Ep. xxx. (Patrol. cxix.).

error; as eager to gain an influence, by correspondence and otherwise, over persons who were inclined to novelty and who desired notoriety at any price.[l] With a view, no doubt, to qualify himself for preaching his doctrines, Gottschalk procured ordination as a priest from a chorepiscopus of Reims, during the vacancy of that see after the deposition of Ebbo. This act appears to have been a token of disaffection to the episcopal body, with which the chorepiscopi were then on very unfriendly terms;[k] it was censured as irregular, inasmuch as Gottschalk belonged to the diocese of Soissons, and as the chorepiscopus had no authority from any superior to confer the priestly ordination at all.[l]

The doctrine on which Gottschalk especially took his stand was that of Predestination. The usual language in the church had been, that the righteous are *predestinate*, and that the wicked are *foreknown*, while the rigid Augustinianism spoke of the wicked as *reprobate;*[m] but Gottschalk applied the term *predestinate* to both classes.[n] There is, he said, a twofold predestination—a term for which he cited the authority of Isidore of Seville.[o] In both cases predestination is to good; but good is twofold, including not only the benefits of grace but the judgments of justice. As life is predestined to the good, and they to it, so is evil predestined to the wicked, and they to it.[p] His opponents usually charged him with maintaining that the wicked were irresistibly and irrevocably doomed to sin, as well as to its consequences. But it would seem, even by Hincmar's own avowal,[q] that

[l] Hincm. De Prædest. c. 2 (Opera, i. 20); Ep. ad. Nicol. Pap. t. ii. 262; ii. 264, 295.

[k] See p. 189.

[l] Hincm i. 21; ii. 262.

[m] Neand. vi. 180-2.

[n] Confessio prolixior, ap. Usser. 'Hist. Gotteschalci,' Dubl. 1631, pp. 215-17. On the controversy raised by Gottschalk, see also Petav. de Incarn. l. xiii. cc. 8, seqq.

[o] Conf. brevior, ap. Usser. 212 (Isid. Sentent. ii. 6. Patrol. lxxxiii.); Cf. Hincm. de Præd. c. 9, p. 33.

[p] Conf. prolix. 214.

[q] De Præd c. 15, p. 63, where he

Gottschalk did not admit this representation of his opinions; he maintained only that, as the perseverance in evil of the devil, his angels, and wicked men was foreknown, they were predestinated to righteous punishment.[r] He denied that Christ died for any but the elect, and explained the texts which speak of God's willing all men to be saved as applicable to those only who actually *are* saved. And, unlike Augustine, he held that even the first human pair were subject to a predestination.[s] The view which his adversaries took of his opinion may be in some degree excused by the violence with which he insisted on his difference from them, and by his zeal in condemning them—circumstances which could not but lead them to suppose the difference far greater than it appears to have really been.

Gottschalk was returning from a visit to Rome, in 847, when at the house of Eberhard, count of Friuli, a son-in-law of Lewis the Pious,[t] he met Notting, who had been lately nominated to the see of Verona. He propounded his doctrine of twofold predestination, at which Notting was greatly startled. The bishop soon after mentioned it to Raban Maur, whom he found at the court of Lewis of Germany; and Raban, who had now become archbishop of Mentz, wrote both to Notting and to Eberhard, in strong condemnation of Gottschalk's opinion, which he declared to be no doctrine of St. Augustine. Predestination, he said, could only be a preparation for grace; God foreknows evil, but does not predestinate to it; all who yield their corrupt will to the guidance of Divine grace may be saved.[u] Count

treats Gottschalk's distinction as only nominal, "cum non nisi per peccatum perveniri valeat ad interitum." See Kunstm. 135.

[r] Conf. brev. 211; Conf. prolix. 219, 222; Usser. 44; Giesel. II. i. 129.

[s] Gottsch. ap. Hincm. de Prædest. cc. 25, 27, 29 (t. i. 147, 211, 226); Neand. vi. 181.

[t] Eberhard was father of Berengar, who was crowned as emperor in 916. Murat. Annali, V. i. 35.

[u] Rab. Epp. 5, 6 (Patrol. cxii.); Kunstm. 120, seqq.

Eberhard, on receiving the archbishop's letter, dismissed his dangerous visitor, who then travelled slowly homeward through Southern Germany;[x] and it would seem to have been on account of his proceedings in these already Christian lands that Hincmar speaks of him as having visited barbarous and pagan nations for the purpose of infecting them with his errors.[y] In 848 Gottschalk appeared before a synod held by Raban at Mentz in the presence of King Lewis. His attendance was probably voluntary,[z] and, as if prepared for a disputation, he carried with him an answer to Raban's objections, in which he charged the archbishop with following the heresy of Gennadius and Cassian, and reasserted the doctrine of a double predestination.[a] His opinions, as might have been expected, were condemned by the synod; he was obliged to swear that he would never again enter the dominions of Lewis;[b] and he was sent to his own metropolitan, Hincmar, with a letter in which Raban styled him a vagabond,[c] and recommended that, as being incorrigible, he should be confined.[d]

In the following year, Gottschalk was brought by Hincmar before a synod at Quiercy[e] on the Oise, where, according to the archbishop, he behaved like a possessed person, and, instead of answering the questions which were put to him, broke out into violent personal attacks. He was flogged severely, in

A.D. 849

[x] Annal. Bertin. A.D. 849; Kunstm. 127.

[y] Hincm. ii. 262; Remig. in Patrol. cxxi. 987.

[z] Schröckh, xxiv. 13-15; Gfrörer, i. 214-15. From the words in the Annales Bertiniani (A.D. 849)—"episcopali concilio *detectus* atque convictus"—Kunstmann (wrongly, as it appears to me) infers that he was dragged from a hiding-place. [In this I find myself agreeing with Bp. Hefele, iv. 131.]

[a] Fragments of this are preserved in 'De Prædestinatione.' See Patrol. cxxi. 365.

[b] Annal. Fuld. 848 (Pertz, i. 365).

[c] "Gyrovagus." He would seem to have left Orbais without leave from the abbot. Kunstm. 120, 132.

[d] Rab. Ep. 8 (Patrol. cxii.). Bp. Hefele questions the genuineness of these acts. iv. 138. Comp. Schröckh xxiv. 15-19.

[e] Hard. v. 17.

the presence of King Charles,—a punishment for which the rule of St. Benedict and the canons of Agde were quoted as a warrant, although not without some straining of their application.[f] When exhausted with this cruel usage, he was required to throw his book into the fire, and had hardly strength enough to do so.[g] Hincmar long after told Pope Nicolas that he had been obliged to take the matter into his own hands, because the bishop of Soissons, Rothad, was himself infected with novelties ;[h] and for the same reason Gottschalk, who was condemned by the synod to perpetual silence, was removed to the monastery of Hautvilliers, within the diocese of Reims.[i]

His zeal was rather quickened than daunted by his imprisonment. He refused to subscribe a declaration sent to him by Hincmar, which would have had the effect of releasing him on condition of his admitting that there might be divine foresight without predestination.[k] He denounced the opposite party under the name of Rabanists ;[l] and, in one of two confessions which he sent forth, he speaks of them as heretics whom it was his bounden duty to avoid.[m] In these confessions he lays down his doctrine of a twofold predestination—predestination of good angels and men, freely, to bliss ; of the evil to punishment, justly, on foreknowledge of their guilt. In the longer confession, which (probably in imitation of St. Augustine) is composed in the form of an address to God, he breaks out into a prayer that an opportunity might be granted him of testifying the truth of his opinions, in the presence of the king, of bishops, clergy, monks, and laity, by plunging successively into four casks

[f] Hincm. de Prædest. 2. t. i. 21, 443. See Schröckh, xxiv. 40.

[g] Remigius de Tribus Epistolis, 25 (Patrol. cxxi.).

[h] Hincm. ii. 262.

[i] Hard. v. 20.

[k] Flodoard, iii. 28 (Patrol. cxxxv. 259). Comp. Schröckh, xxiv. 43.

[l] "Rhabanicos." Amulo ad Gottesch. Patrol. cxvi. 95.

[m] Conf. prolix. ap. Usser. 232.

of boiling water, oil, fat,[n] and pitch; and lastly by walking through a blazing pile. This wish has been variously traced to humility and to hypocrisy[o]—qualities which seem to have been alike foreign to Gottschalk's character. It would accord better with the rest of his history, if we were to seek the motive in a proud and self-important, but sincere, fanaticism.

The doctrines for which Gottschalk was suffering now found champions of name and influence, although these varied somewhat among themselves, while all (like Gottschalk himself) disavowed the opinion of an irresistible predestination to sin. Among them were—Prudentius, a Spaniard by birth, bishop of Troyes;[p] Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, an old pupil of Raban, who had great weight in the French church, and was highly esteemed by Charles the Bald;[q] and Ratramn, who in this controversy, as in that on the eucharistic presence, wrote at the king's request and for his information.[r] Hincmar found it necessary to seek for assistance against these writers. Raban, to whom he applied, excused himself, chiefly on the plea of age and infirmity, and added that in many points he agreed with Gottschalk, although he thought him mistaken as to the predestination of the wicked.[s] But Hincmar found allies in Amalarius, an

[n] "Oleo, pingui" (ib. 233). These words are usually printed without a comma between them, as if *pingui* were an epithet. But it must be taken as a substantive, in order to make up the number of barrels.

[o] See Schröckh, xxiv. 48.

[p] Prudentius (whose works are in the 'Patrologia,' vol. cxv.) wrote part of the 'Annales Bertiniani,' which were continued by Hincmar. Hincmar, in the opening of his part, says that his predecessor, after having opposed Gottschalk, took up his cause out of private enmity to some bishops. Pertz, i. 465.

[q] Patrol. cxix.; Hist. Litt. v. 256-7; Schröckh, xxiv. 56, seqq.

[r] Ratr. de Prædest. Dei, Patrol. cxxi. 13.

[s] Raban. ad Hincm., Patrol. cxii. Ep. 4; Kunstm. 138. Compare a later letter of Raban in Kunstm. Append. v. Gfrörer (altogether improbably and unjustly, as it seems to me) supposes that Raban lent himself to Lewis of Germany's dislike of Hincmar, by first drawing him into controversy and then deserting him! i. 262-3.

ecclesiastic of Metz, who was distinguished as a ritualist,[t] and in Amulo, archbishop of Lyons, the pupil and successor of Agobard.[u]

The most remarkable work in opposition to Gottschalk's views, however, was that of John Scotus, whose name has already been mentioned in connexion with the eucharistic question. The circumstances of this celebrated man's life are enveloped in great obscurity. The name Scotus, like that of Erigena, which was given to him at a later time, indicates that he was a native of Ireland, a country which furnished many others of the learned men who enjoyed the patronage of Charles the Bald.[x] From his knowledge of Greek (in which language he even wrote verses, although with an utter disdain of prosody[y]) it has been supposed that he had travelled in the east; but the supposition is needless, as Greek was then an ordinary branch of education in his native country and in Britain.[z] That he was acquainted with Hebrew has often been said, but without sufficient proof.[a] Like the scholars of his time in general, John appears to have belonged to some order of the clergy, although this cannot be considered as certain.[b] He had for some years

[t] Some, however, have supposed this Amalarius to have been a different person from the ritualist. See Hist. Litt. iv. 535.

[u] Amulo is in the Patrol. t. cxvi.

[x] See above, p. 336. Prudentius says that Ireland sent John to Gaul, and speaks of his "Celtic eloquence." (De Prædest. 14, Patrol. cxv. 1194.) Instead of *Erigena*, the word in the oldest MSS. is *Ierugena*, which Dr. Floss believes to be formed after a supposed analogy with *Grajugena*, and to be compounded of ἱεροῦ (*sc.* νήσου) and *gena* (Patrol. cxxii., Præf. xix.). Although the false concord would not perhaps have shocked the middle ages, I cannot follow this derivation with Dr. Christlieb, who has certainly not strengthened his case by ascribing to John the formation of the Virgilian word *Grajugena* as well as of *Ierugena* (Joh. Scot. Erig. 16-17). (Huber also rejects it, pp. 38-40.) For other views as to John's country, see Patrol. cxxii. 6, 95.

[y] See ib. 1237.

[z] Christlieb, 22.

[a] Ritter, vii. 206-7. See an anonymous Life, published at Bonn in 1835, and reprinted in the 'Patrologia,' cxxii. 10; also Christlieb, 59.

[b] It has been denied, as in the Bonn Life (col. 44); but Staudenmaier, Ritter (vii. 207), and Christlieb (54-5), maintain it. The argument on the other side

found a home in the court of Charles,[c] and had restored the reputation of the palatine school,[d] which had sunk during the distractions of the preceding reign;[e] while, among other literary labours, he had executed a translation of the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which had been sent as a present by the Greek emperor Michael to Lewis the Pious.[f] Scotus was better versed in Greek than in Latin theology, so that even as to the question of the Holy Spirit's procession he inclined to the oriental side.[g] But in truth he had a far greater affinity with the ancient philosophers—especially the Neoplatonists—than with the theologians of his own age. His bold and rationalizing mind plunged into questionable, or evidently heretical, speculations; he startled his contemporaries by denying the literal sense of some parts of the scriptural narrative,[h] and there are passages in his works

seems chiefly to rest on the fact that he is not distinguished by any clerical title.

[c] Christlieb dates his appearance there between 840 and 846, p. 24.

[d] See p. 118.

[e] Guizot, ii. 371.

[f] It was not, as has been commonly said, the embassy on the question of images (see p. 302), but a later one, in 827, that conveyed this present (Pagi, xiv. 134). Lewis, after his reconciliation with the church at St. Denys, in 836, desired Hilduin to collect materials for the life of the Areopagite, who from that time was identified with the patron of the monastery and of France, although some persons still denied the identity, as to which it seems clear that Scotus himself was not satisfied, since he speaks of it as being asserted only by writers "moderni temporis" (col. 1032). (See the letters prefixed to the Life, Patrol. cvi.; Hincmar, ib. cxxvi. 154; Innoc. III. A.D. 1215, ib. ccxvii. 241; Baron. 824. 30; 834. 4, seqq.; Fleury, xlvii. 50; Schrockh, xxiii. 113-17.) Hilduin is not, however, to be regarded as the author of this opinion, but only as having given it establishment and popularity; for traces of it are found earlier, and it is indeed implied in the selection of the abbot of St. Denys as the biographer of the Areopagite. (See Hist. Litt. iv. 611-12; Giesel. II. i. 162-4.) The most celebrated passage of Hilduin's work is in c. 32—"Se cadaver erexit, sanctaque manu caput . . . cœpit vectitare." Comp. the Lessons in the Roman Breviary for Oct. 9; and for parallel miracles Acta SS., Jan. 8, pp. 465, 468; Halloix, Vit. S. Dion. Areop., Patrol. Gr. iv. 825. A volume of Launoy's Works (8vo ed.) is occupied by dissertations 'De duobus Dionysiis.'

[g] See Floss, xxii.; Christl. 179. He seems to have extended his Greek sympathies so far as to prefer Constantinople to Rome. See the verses at the end of his translation of Dionysius, col. 1194; Christl. 27-8.

[h] See Christl. 299-305, 346.

which indicate an almost undisguised pantheism.[i] Of his latter years nothing is known, except that Pope Nicolas, on the ground that his orthodoxy was suspected, requested Charles to send him to Rome, or at least to prevent his longer residence at Paris, where his teaching might do mischief.[k] It would seem that, notwithstanding this denunciation, Charles continued to protect Scotus, and that the philosopher ended his days in France; although many writers have supposed that, after the death of his patron, he removed into England, and aided the great Alfred in his labours for the education of his people.[l]

The controversy thus far had differed from those of the earlier ages in appealing exclusively to authority. Augustine and the other fathers had exercised their original thought in the definition of doctrine; but hitherto the question as to predestination did not relate to the truth of Christian doctrine, but to the manner in which that doctrine had been determined by St. Augustine.[m] Scotus, however, took a different course from the theologians who

[i] See Guizot, ii. 383-7; Neand. vi. 163-9; Hampden, B. L. 416; Ritter, vii. 235; Ampère, iii. 137-46; Christl. 129-32, 199. John's work 'De Divisione Naturæ' was condemned to the flames by Honorius III. (who calls it *Perifisis, i.e.*, *περὶ φύσεως*), in 1225 (Mansi, xxii. 1211-14), and, on its publication by Gale (Oxford, 1681), was put into the Roman Index of forbidden books. (Patrol. cxxii. Præf. i.)

[k] Patrol. cxxii. 1025. The date is supposed to be 860 or 862. Huber, 106.

[l] The idea of his removal into England has chiefly arisen out of a confusion between Scotus and another John, a learned monk of Old Saxony. They are identified by Baronius (878. 62); Fuller (i. 180-2); Spelman and his editor Hearne (Life of Alfred, 133-5); Ware (Writers of Ireland, 61); Du Boulay (i. 211-13); Collier (i. 388). Against the identity, see Pagi, xv. 337; Harris, n. on Ware, l. c.; Hist. Litt. v. 419; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 246; Murdock, n. on Mosheim, ii. 213; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 391; Lanigan, iii. 301; Hardy, n. on W. Malmesb. 188; Gfrörer, iii. 938; Floss, xxiv.; Huber, 108-18. Bähr (485), and Christlieb (43), while they distinguish between the two Johns, think it likely that Scotus, finding his position uneasy may have left France and have repaired to Alfred's court. Mr. Soames, in that anti-historical spirit against which I have often felt it necessary to protest, denounces the distinction between the Johns as an attempt in the Roman interest to clear Alfred from the charge of having patronized an opponent of transubstantiation! N. in Mosheim, loc. cit.

[m] Guizot, ii. 361, 369.

had preceded him on either side.[n] Like them, indeed, he professed to appeal to Scripture and the fathers—especially to the great teacher on whom the opposite party chiefly relied;[o] but both Scripture and fathers (he said) had condescended to the weakness of their readers, and much of their language was to be figuratively understood. Thus a principle was laid down by which their most positive expressions might be set aside, and anything which seemed to disagree with the philosopher's own speculations might be explained away.[p]

Scotus wrote at the request of Hincmar, and inscribed his book to him and to his associate in the cause, Pardulus, bishop of Laon.[q] He sets out with a somewhat ostentatious parade of philosophical method, and declares that true philosophy and true theology are identical.[r] He treats Gottschalk as a heretic—a tool of the "old enemy"—and traces his errors to a want of liberal culture, especially to ignorance of the Greek language and theology.[s] It is, he says, an impropriety to speak of *pre*destination or *fore*knowledge in God, since to Him all time is present; but, admitting the use of such words, he holds that predestination is eternal, and is as much a part of God Himself as any other of his attributes.[t] It can, therefore, only be *one;* we can no more suppose two predestinations in God than two wisdoms or two knowledges.[u] He disallows Gottschalk's distinction of "one twofold predestination"; the Divine predestination must

[n] 'De Divina Prædestinatione Liber.' (Opera, 355-440.)

[o] *E.g.*, c. xi. 2, 4. Many of his quotations are taken from the treatise 'De libero Arbitrio,' an early work written by Augustine against the Manichæans, at a time when his opinions on predestination had not been developed by the Pelagian controversy. Scotus also relies in part on a spurious work, the 'Hypognosticon' or 'Hypomnesticon,' which is printed in the Appendix to vol. x. of Augustine (xiv. 4).

[p] Cc. ix.; xi. 6; Hist. Litt. v. 420-1; Ritter, vii. 212-15.

[q] De Div. Præd. Præf.

[r] C. 1; Ritter, vii. 211.

[s] Cc. i. 2-4; xviii. 1-4.

[t] C. ix. 1, 5-7; xv. 5; xvii 2

[u] C. ii. 6.

be truly one, and must be to good only; and such (he maintains) is the use of the term, not only in Scripture, but in Augustine's own writings, if rightly understood.[x] Yet the number both of those who shall be delivered by Christ and of those who are to be left to their wickedness is known, and may be said to be predestined; God has circumscribed the wicked by his law, which brings out their wickedness, while it acts in an opposite manner on the good.[y] Scotus strongly asserts the freedom of the will to choose not only evil (to which Lupus had limited it),[z] but good; free-will (he says) is a gift with which our nature is endowed by God—a good gift, although it may be employed for evil;[a] whereas Gottschalk, by referring all virtue and vice to predestination, denies both the freedom of the will and the assistance of grace, and thus falls at once into the errors of the Pelagians and of their extreme opponents.[b] Predestination and foreknowledge in God are one, and relate only to good; for God can foresee only that which has a being, whereas sin and punishment are not.[c] Sin is, as Augustine had taught, only the defect of righteousness; punishment is but the defect of bliss.[d] If the soul has the capacity of blessedness, the longing for bliss without the power of attaining it is the keenest possible torment; thus the true punishment is that which sin inflicts on itself, secretly in the present life, and openly in that which is to come, when those things which now appear to be the pleasures of sin will become the instruments of torment. That which is punished is not our nature (which is God's work), but the corruption of our nature;[e] nor is God properly the author of punishments; He is

[x] C. xviii. 8; Epilog. 2.

[y] Cc. iii.-iv.; xi. 3-7; xii. 4-5; xiii.-xiv.

[z] Lup. Ep. 128 (Bibl. Patr. xv. 42, c.); De Tribus Quæstionibus, ib. 45, f.

[a] Cc. iv. 4; v.; vi. 1; vii. 1-2; viii. 7-9.

[b] C. iv. 1-4.

[c] Cc. x. 3; xi.-xii.; xv. 3-5.

[d] C. x. 4-5 (Aug. De Civ. Dei, xii. 7).

[e] C. xvi.

only so spoken of inasmuch as He is the creator of the universe in which they are ;[f] the wicked will be tormented by their own envy ; the righteous will be crowned by their own love.[g] The fire ("whether it be corporeal, as Augustine thinks, or incorporeal, according to Gregory") is not needed for the punishment of the wicked—even of the evil, whose pride would suffice for its own chastisement ; it is one of the four elements which form the balance and completeness of the universe. It is in itself good ; the blessed will dwell in it as well as the wicked, and it will affect each kind according to their capacities, even as light produces different effects on sound and on ailing eyes.[h] "Forasmuch as there is no bliss but eternal life, and life eternal is the knowledge of the truth, therefore there is no other bliss than the knowledge of the truth. . . . So, if there is no misery but eternal death, and eternal death is the ignorance of the truth, there is consequently no misery except ignorance of the truth."[i]

If Hincmar, in inviting Scotus to take part in the controversy, aimed at counteracting the influence of Lupus and Ratramn over Charles the Bald, he was in so far successful ; for from that time the king was steadily on his side.[k] But in other respects he found the philosopher a very dangerous and embarrassing ally, so that he even felt himself obliged to disavow him.[l]

The excitement raised by the novelties of Scotus was very great. Wenilo, archbishop of Sens, whom Hincmar had studiously, and hitherto successfully, endeavoured to conciliate,[m] now sent a number of propositions, ex-

[f] C. xvii. 1.
[g] C. xviii. fin.
[h] C. xvii. 8-9 ; xix.
[i] C. xvii. 9. Compare a passage in the Commentary on Dion. de Hierarchia Cœlesti, col. 205. "Non autem hoc dicimus quasi nulla pœna sit æterna, dum unusquisque sua conscientia sive beatificabitur sive damnabitur in æternum, sed solummodo agimus quod nulla natura in ulla punietur."
[k] Guizot, ii. 376; Gfrörer, i. 321.
[l] Hincm. de Præd. c. 31, p. 232.
[m] Gfrörer, i. 217, 232.

tracted from the book, to Prudentius, with a request that he would examine, and, if necessary, refute them.[n] The bishop of Troyes thereupon wrote against Scotus with great asperity, and he was followed by Florus, a deacon and master of the cathedral school at Lyons.[o] These writers charge Scotus with Pelagianism, to which Prudentius adds accusations of Origenism and Collyridianism.[p] They complain of him for imputing imaginary errors to his opponents; they censure him for substituting philosophy for theology, and sophistical subtleties for arguments from Scripture and ancient authorities. Hincmar and Pardulus entreated Amulo of Lyons again to assist them; but he died in 852, and his successor, Remigius, answered the application by writing, in the name of his church, a book on the opposite side—taking up the case of Gottschalk more expressly than those who had preceded him, censuring the cruelty with which he had been treated,[q] and defending the impugned opinions, with the exception of that which limited the exercise of free-will since the Fall to the choice of evil.[r]

Finding that the literary contest was turning against him, Hincmar resolved to fortify himself with the authority of a council, and at Quiercy, in 853, four decrees on the subject of the controversy were passed.[s] It is laid down that man fell by the abuse of his free-will; that God, by his foreknowledge, chose some whom by his grace He predestinated to life, and life to them: but as for those whom He, by righteous judgment, left in their lost estate, He did not predestine them to perish, but predestined punishment to their sin. "And hereby," it is

[n] Usser. 115-25.

[o] Hist. Litt. v. 214.

[p] Prud. de Prædest. Præf. (Patrol. cxv. 1011); Florus adv. Scotum, 4, 8, (ib. cxix. 132, 152). See Pagi, xiv. 400.

[q] De Tribus Epistolis, 25 (Patrol. cxxi.).

[r] He questioned whether Gottschalk held this. Ib. 21.

[s] Sirmond, followed by Archbp. Ussher (c. vi.) and others, wrongly refers these to the council of the same place in 849. Giesel. II. i. 134.

said, "we speak of only one predestination of God, which relates either to the gift of grace or to the retribution of justice."[t] It is defined that our free-will was lost by the Fall, but was recovered through Christ; that we have a free-will to good, prevented and aided by grace, as well as a free-will to evil, deserted by grace;[u] that God would have all men to be saved, and that Christ suffered for all; that the ruin of those who perish is to be ascribed to their own desert.[x]

Prudentius, who was present when these decrees were passed, subscribed them, but afterwards put forth four propositions against them;[y] and Remigius, who, as a subject of Lothair, felt himself independent of the influence of Charles the Bald, wrote, in the name of his church, a book against the articles of Quiercy.[z] Of Scotus the archbishop says that he is ignorant of the very words of Scripture, and that, instead of being consulted on points of faith, he ought either to be pitied as a man out of his right mind, or to be anathematized as a heretic.[a] Remigius, however, maintains the necessity of free-will in order to responsibility.[b] Against the authority of the council of Quiercy was set that of one which met under the presidency of Remigius in 855 at Valence, in Lotharingia.[c] This assembly condemned nineteen propositions extracted from Scotus, which, by a phrase borrowed from St. Jerome's attack on Cœlestius, it characterized as "porridge of the Scots."[d] It laid down moderate defi-

[t] Conc. Carisiac. II. A.D. 853; c. 1.

[u] C. 2.

[x] Cc. 3-4.

[y] Prud. Ep. ad Guenilon. (Patrol. cxv. 1365-8); Gfrörer, i. 241-4; Hefele, iv. 180-1.

[z] 'De tenenda Scripturæ veritate.' The authorship has been questioned, but without reason. See Schröckh, xxiv. 98-9, who, however, is wrong in applying to Hincmar some expressions (c. 2) which clearly relate to Gottschalk. The author of the article on Remigius in the Acta SS. (Oct. 28) takes pains to soften down the differences between him and Hincmar.

[a] Eccl. Lugd. ap. Usser. 185.

[b] C. 10; Schröckh, xxiv. 100-2.

[c] Hard. v. 87, seqq.

[d] C. 6. See vol. ii. p. 142. The

nitions as to free-will and as to the extent of the benefit of the Redeemer's death.[e] But it censured the four articles of Quiercy as useless, or even noxious and erroneous; and it forbade, in the name of the Holy Spirit, any teaching contrary to its own.[f] The decrees of Valence were confirmed by a council held near Langres in 859,[g] although, at the instance of Remigius, the offensive expressions against the articles of Quiercy were omitted.[h] The subject was again considered by a greater council, to which that of Langres was preliminary, and which met a fortnight later at Savonnières, a suburb of Toul. At this meeting Remigius acted in a spirit of conciliation, and the decision was adjourned to a future synod.[i]

In the meantime Gottschalk was not inactive in his seclusion. Hincmar had altered an ancient hymn of unknown authorship,[k] in which the application of the word *trine* to the Godhead seemed to suggest a threefold difference in the nature of the Divine Persons.[l] But Ratramn defended the term, and Gottschalk—eager, it would seem, to provoke his powerful enemy in all ways—put forth in its behalf a tract in which he charged Hincmar with Sabellianism.[m] The archbishop replied in a work of which the substance was shown to Gottschalk, in the hope of converting him, although it was not completed until after his death.[n] He meets the charge of Sabellianism with one

articles of Valence are supposed to have been drawn up by Ebbo, bishop of Grenoble, nephew of the deprived archbishop of Reims. Ussher, 185; Hefele, iv. 184.

[e] Cc. 2-4.

[f] Hincmar complains of this (i. 65), and in cc. 16, seqq. of his treatise on predestination defends the articles of Quiercy by quotations from the fathers.

[g] Hard. v. 498.

[h] Giesel. II. i. 137.

[i] Conc. Tull. I. apud Saponarias, A.D. 859, c. 10 of Introduction; also pt. vi. cc. 1-6; Hincm. i. 2.

[k] Opera, i. 413, 438.

[l] "Te, trina Deitas unaque, poscimus." Hincmar argues that *Deitas* meant the *nature* of God, and altered *trina* into *summa*.—'De una et non trina Deitate,' Opera, i. 413-555; Giesel. II. i. 137.

[m] Schedula Gotteschalci, ap. Hincm. i. 415-17.

[n] Hincm. i. 552.

of Arianism ;[o] he exhorts monks to keep clear of novelties in a style which seems to intimate that his opponent had many adherents among that class ; and he gives very significant hints of the bodily and spiritual punishments to which an imitation of Gottschalk would render them liable.[p] Hincmar was not further molested about this affair ; but the word to which he had objected, although his objection was supported by the authority of Raban,[q] kept its place in the Gallican service.

In 859, a monk of Hautvilliers named Guntbert, whom Gottschalk had gained, privately left the monastery, and carried an appeal from the prisoner to Rome.[r] It appeared as if the new pope, Nicolas, were disposed to take up the matter.[s] Hincmar wrote to him, professing his willingness to act as the pope should direct—to release Gottschalk, to transfer him to other custody, or even to send him to Rome (although he spoke of the two synods which had condemned the prisoner as a bar to this course) ; but he refused to appear with him before the pope's legates at Metz in 863, on an occasion which will be related hereafter.[t] From a letter written by Hincmar to Egilo, archbishop of Sens, who was about to set out for Rome, we learn some details as to Gottschalk's condition. It is said that in respect of food, drink, and fuel, he was as well treated as any of the monks among whom he lived · that clothes were supplied, if he would receive them ;

[o] P. 418.

[p] Pp. 436-44.

[q] Rab. ap. Kunstm. Append. vi.

[r] Hincmar describes Guntbert as having often before incurred punishment for faults, and charges him with having stolen horses, books, and vestments when he left the abbey. ii. 290.

[s] Prudentius says, in Annal. Bertin. A.D. 859 (Pertz, i. 464), that Nicolas gave a "catholic" decision on the points in question — *i.e.* a decision agreeable to the writer's own views. But Hincmar, referring to this, says that he had never heard or read the statement elsewhere ; and he commissions Egilo, archbishop of Sens, when going to Rome, to beg that the pope would discountenance such misrepresentations. (ii. 292.) See Hefele, iv. 199.

[t] See below, p. 373 ; Hincm. ii. 264 ; Usser. 202 ; Schröckh, xxiv. 117.

but that, ever since he was placed at Hautvilliers, he had refused to wash not only his body, but even his face and hands.[u] From another writing of Hincmar it appears that the unfortunate man had become subject to strange delusions, and had visions in which the imagery of the Apocalypse was applied to foreshow the ruin of his chief enemy. His long confinement and sufferings, acting on his vain, obstinate, and enthusiastic temper, had partially overthrown his reason.[x]

The synodal discussion of the predestinarian controversy, to which the council of Savonnières had looked forward, was never held. But a council at Toucy, near Toul, in October 860, which was attended by Charles the Bald, Lothair II., and Charles of Provence, by twelve metropolitans, and by bishops from fourteen provinces, adopted a letter drawn up by Hincmar, which is in part a general statement of doctrine, and in part is directed against the invasion of ecclesiastical property. In this letter the freedom of man's will, the will of God that all men should be saved, the necessity of grace in order to salvation, the Divine mercy in choosing and calling men from out of the "mass of perdition," and the death of Christ "for all who were debtors unto death," are distinctly stated, but in such a manner as rather to conciliate than to repel those who in some respects had been the archbishop's opponents.[y] Hincmar, at the desire of Charles the Bald,[z] employed himself at intervals, from 859 to 863, in composing a work of great length on predestination and the kindred subjects,[a] chiefly in defence of the articles of Quiercy, which he had before maintained in a book of which the preface only is

[u] Hincm. ii. 292.

[x] De una et non trina Deit. (Opera, i. 550); Giesel. II. i. 137.

[y] Hincm. Ep. 21 (Patrol. cxxvi.). See Hefele, iv. 206-9.

[z] Ep. ad Regem, Opera, i. 2.

[a] It fills 410 folio pages.

extant.[b] He labours to bring the theology of Augustine, Fulgentius, and others into accordance with his own opinions, which are rather those of the time before the Pelagian controversy arose. He quotes very profusely; but most of the passages which he relies on as St. Augustine's are from a work falsely ascribed to that father, which had already been employed by Scotus, and declared by Remigius to be spurious.[c] He admits the expression of *one twofold* predestination,[d] but differs from Gottschalk in saying that, while the righteous are predestined to life, and it to them, punishment is predestined to the reprobate, but they are not predestined to it: that God did not predestinate them, but forsook them.[e] With this work the controversy ceased.

Gottschalk remained in captivity twenty years. In 869, the monks of Hautvilliers perceived that his end was approaching, and sent Hincmar notice of the fact, with an inquiry whether they should allow him to receive the last sacraments. It was replied that they might do so, if he would sign a confession embodying the archbishop's views as to predestination and the Trinity.[f] But Gottschalk was still unbending, and refused with much vehemence of behaviour and language. In consequence of this refusal, he died without the sacraments and under the ban of the church; he was buried in unhallowed earth, and was excluded from prayers for the repose of his soul.[g]

On the question of Gottschalk's orthodoxy or heterodoxy, very opposite opinions have been pronounced—a result rather of the opposite positions of those who have

[b] A.D. 857; Fleury, xlix. 33.

[c] See above, p. 360, n. [e]; Remig. de III. Epistolis, 35; De tenenda Script. Verit. 9.

[d] C. 19, p. 110.

[e] Epilog. 3, p. 373.

[f] This answer was in accordance with Raban's opinion. See Kunstmann, Append. p. 218.

[g] Hincm. De una et non trin. Deit. (i. 552-5); ad Monach. Altavill. (ii. 314); Flodoard, ii. 28 (Patrol. cxxxv. 259).

judged him than of any differences between them as to the facts of the case.[h] Yet as to these facts there is room for an important question—whether his two confessions embody the whole of his doctrine on the subject of predestination, or whether he also held that opinion of an irresistible doom to sin, as well as to punishment, which his adversaries usually imputed to him. A moral judgment of the case is easier. Gottschalk's sincerity and resolute boldness were marred by his thoroughly sectarian spirit; but the harshness with which he was treated has left on the memory of Hincmar a stain which is not to be effaced by any allowances for the character of the age, since even among his own contemporaries it drew forth warm and indignant remonstrances.

From controversies of doctrine we proceed to some remarkable cases in which questions of other kinds brought the popes into correspondence with the Frankish church.

I. In 855 the emperor Lothair resigned his crown, and entered the monastery of Prüm, where he died six days after his arrival.[i] While his eldest son, Lewis II., succeeded him in the imperial title and in the kingdom of Italy, the small kingdom of Arles or Provence fell to his youngest son, Charles, and the other territory north of the Alps, to which the name of Lotharingia was now limited, became the portion of his second son, Lothair II.

Lothair II. in 856 married Theutberga, daughter of the duke or viceroy of Burgundy, and sister of Humbert or Hucbert, abbot of St. Maurice. He separated from his

[h] The Jesuits are strong in condemnation of him; the Jansenists and Augustinian Romanists (as the authors of the Hist. Litt. iv. 262), with Protestant writers in general, are favourable to his orthodoxy, and suppose that his opinions were misunderstood. Giesel. II. i. 138.

[i] Annal. Fuld. (Pertz, i. 369); Luden, vi. 44.

wife in the following year, but Humbert, who was more a soldier than a monk, compelled him by a threat of war to take her back. In 859 Theutberga was summoned before a secular tribunal, on a charge of worse than incestuous connexion with her brother before her marriage; and the abbot's profession was not enough to disprove this charge, as the laxity of his morals was notorious.[k]

It now appeared that, in desiring to get rid of his wife, Lothair was influenced by love for a lady named Waldrada, with whom he had formerly been intimate.[l] Two archbishops—Gunther of Cologne, archchaplain of the court, and Theutgaud of Treves, a man who is described as too simple and too ignorant to understand the case[m]—had been gained to the king's side,[n] and insisted that Theutberga should purge herself by the ordeal of boiling water; but, when she had successfully undergone this trial by proxy, Lothair declared it to be worthless. In the following year the subject came before two synods at Aix-la-Chapelle,[o] in which Wenilo, archbishop of Sens,[p] and another Neustrian prelate were associated with the Lotharingian bishops. Theutberga—no doubt influenced by ill usage, although she professed that she acted without compulsion—acknowledged the truth of the charges against her, while she declared that she had not consented to the sin; whereupon the bishops gave judgment for a divorce, and, in compliance

A.D. 860.

[k] Prudent. Annal. 860 (Pertz, i. 454); Hincm. i. 575. Hincmar notes under the year 864 that "Hugbertus, clericus conjugatus," was killed by Lewis II.'s soldiers.

[l] Regino, A.D. 864 (Pertz, i. 571).

[m] Ibid.

[n] I agree with Dean Milman (ii. 364) in doubting the story that they were nearly related to Waldrada. Regino (in Pertz, i. 571-2) says that Gunther was won to take part against Theutberga by a promise that his niece should be queen; but this niece was clearly a different person from Waldrada.

[o] Hincm. ap. Pertz. i. 465.

[p] It has been supposed, more or less confidently, that from the conduct of this prelate came the name *Ganelon* (the same with *Wenilo* or *Guenilo*), given to the traitor of Carolingian romance. See Baron. 854. 39; Ducange, s. v. *Ganelon*; British Magazine, xxiii. 260; Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 166.

with the unhappy queen's own petition, sentenced her to lifelong penance in a nunnery.[q] A third synod, held at Aix in April 862, after hearing Lothair's representation of his case—that he had been contracted to Waldrada, that his father had compelled him to marry Theutberga, and that his youth and the strength of his passions rendered a single life insupportable to him—gave its sanction to his marrying again;[r] and on the strength of this permission his nuptials with Waldrada were celebrated, and were followed by her coronation.[s] Gunther's services were rewarded by the nomination of his brother Hilduin to the see of Cambray; but Hincmar refused to consecrate the new bishop, and Pope Nicolas eventually declared the appointment to be null and void.[t]

The partisans of Lothair had represented Hincmar as favourable to the divorce; but in reality he had steadfastly resisted all their solicitations.[u] A body of clergy and laity now proposed to him a number of questions on the subject,[x] and in answer he gave his judgment very fully.[y] There were, he said, only two valid grounds for the dissolution of a marriage—where either both parties desire to embrace a monastic life, or one of them can be proved guilty of adultery; but in the second case, the innocent party may not enter into another marriage during the lifetime of the culprit.[z] Among other matters, he discusses the efficacy of the ordeal, which some of Theutberga's enemies had ridiculed as worthless, while others explained the fact that her proxy had escaped unhurt[a] by supposing either that she had made a secret confession, or that, in declaring herself clear of any guilt

[q] Pertz, Leges, i. 467; Hincmar, i. 569, 574-7; Pagi, xiv. 564.
[r] Hard. v. 539, seqq.
[s] Hincm. Annal. 862 (Pertz, i. 453).
[t] Nic. Epp. 63-8; Gfrörer, i. 353.
[u] Hincm. i. 568, 583; Gfrörer, i. 350.
[x] Hincm. i. 565, 683.
[y] 'De Divortio Lotharii et Tetbergæ.' Opera, i. 561-705.
[z] Pp. 588, 670, 681.
[a] "Incoctus."

with her brother, she had mentally intended another brother instead of the abbot of St. Maurice.[b] Hincmar defends the system of such trials, and says that the artifice imputed to her, far from aiding her to escape, would have increased her guilt, and so would have ensured her ruin.[c] With respect to a popular opinion that Lothair was bewitched by Waldrada, the archbishop avows his belief in the power of charms to produce the extremes of love or hatred between man and wife, and otherwise to interfere with their relations to each other;[d] and he gives instances of magical practices as having occurred within his own knowledge. He strongly denies the doctrine which some had propounded, that Lothair, as a king, was exempt from all human judgment;[e] for, he said, the ecclesiastical power is higher than the secular, and when a king fails to rule himself and his dominions according to the law of God, he forfeits his immunity from earthly law.[f] He says that the question of the marriage, as it is one of universal concern, cannot be settled within Lothair's dominions; and, as it was objected that no one but the pope was of higher authority than those who had already given judgment on it, he proposes a general synod, to be assembled from all the Frankish kingdoms, as the fittest tribunal for deciding it.[g]

Theutberga had escaped from the place of her confinement, and had found a refuge with Charles the Bald, who, in espousing her cause, would seem to have been guided less by any regard for its justice than by the hope of turn-

[b] P. 499.

[c] P. 613. There is also a letter on the Ordeal, ii. 676

[d] Pp. 653, seqq.

[e] This was a pretension derived from Justinian. (Gfrörer, i. 396.) It had been carried still further by a synod held at Constantinople in the reign of Nicephorus, which, with reference to the divorce and second marriage of Constantine VI., declared that the emperor was above law, and was not bound by rules which bound other men. Theod. Stud. Ep. i. 33 (p. 239 D); cf. Ep. i. 36.

[f] "*Rex* a *regendo* dicitur," etc. (674-6), a favourite sentence in councils, etc., of the time.

[g] Pp. 683-7.

ing his nephew's misconduct to his own advantage.[h] She now appealed to the pope, whose intervention was also solicited by others, and at last by Lothair himself, in his annoyance at the opposition of Hincmar and the Neustrian bishops.[i] In answer to these applications, Nicolas declared that, even if the stories against Theutberga were true, her immoralities would not warrant the second marriage of her husband; he ordered that a synod should be assembled, not only from such parts of the Frankish dominions as Lothair might hope to influence, but from all; and he sent two legates to assist at it,[k] with a charge to excommunicate the king if he should refuse to appear or to obey them.

The synod was held at Metz in 863, but no bishops except those of Lotharingia attended.[l] The legates had been bribed by Lothair; one of them, Rodoald, bishop of Portus, had already displayed his corruptness in negotiations with the Byzantine church.[m] Without any citation of Theutberga, or any fresh investigation of the case, the acts of the synod of Aix were confirmed. Nicolas represents the tone of the bishops as very violent against himself, and says that when one bishop, in signing the acts, had made a reservation of the papal judgment, Gunther and Theutgaud erased all but his name.[n] These two prelates set off to report the decision to the pope—believing probably, from what they had seen of Rodoald that at Rome money would effect all that they or their sovereign might desire.[o] But in this they found them-

[h] Gfrörer, i. 352-3.

[i] Planck, iii. 41.

[k] Nic. Epp. 17, 18, 19, 22, 23. Instructions to the legates, Hard. v. 319-20.

Gfrörer thinks that Lewis of Germany persuaded Charles the Bald and Charles of Provence not to send their bishops. i. 360.

[l] See the next chapter. Gfrörer (i. 363) thinks that Nicolas made use of him with the intention of turning his notorious venality to account. Hefele says with greater probability that the pope was not fully informed of Rodoald's misconduct until later. iv. 251.

[n] Hard. v. 292.

[o] Hincm. Annal. 863 (Pertz, i. 460); Planck, iii. 51 2; Gfrörer, i. 361-3.

selves greatly mistaken. Nicolas, in a synod which appears to have been held in the ordinary course,[p] annulled the decision of Metz, classing the council with the notorious *Latrocinium* of Ephesus,[q] and ordering that, on account of the favour which it had shown to adulterers, it should not be called a synod but a brothel.[r] He deposed Gunther and Theutgaud, and declared that, if they should attempt to perform any episcopal act, they must not hope for restoration.[s] He threatened the other Lotharingian bishops with a like sentence in case of their making any resistance;[t] and he announced his judgment to the Frankish sovereigns and archbishops in letters which strongly denounced the conduct of King Lothair —if (it was said) he may be properly styled a king who gives himself up to the government of his passions.[u] Rodoald was about to be brought to trial for his corruption, when he escaped from Rome by night.[x] It was evident from the manner of the pope's proceedings that the indignation which he sincerely felt on account of Theutberga's wrongs was not the only motive which animated him; that he was bent on taking advantage of the case to establish his power over kings and foreign churches.[y]

Gunther and Theutgaud, in extreme surprise and anger, repaired to the emperor Lewis II., who was then at Beneventum, and represented to him that the treatment which they had received was an insult not only to their master, but to the whole Frankish church, and to all princes —especially to the emperor himself, under whose safe-conduct they had come to Rome.[z] On this Lewis imme-

[p] Conc. Rom. A.D. 863; Planck, iii. 55. [q] See vol. ii. pp. 212-16.

[r] "Prostibulum." Hard. v. 573. c. 1; Pertz, i. 375-6; Anastas. 257-8.

[s] C. 2. There are some letters on the affair of these prelates in the appendix to Floss's 'Papstwahl unter den Ottonen.' [t] C. 3.

[u] Ep. ad Archiep. Germ. (Pertz, i. 375); Hincm. Annal. (ib. 460; Nic. Ep. ad Carol. et Ludov. (Hard. v. 244).

[x] Hincm. Annal. ap. Pertz, i. 460

[y] Planck, iii. 57-60.

[z] Hincm. A.D. 864, ap Pertz, i. 462a Regino, A.D. 865, ib. 573.

diately advanced against Rome, and, without attempting any previous negotiation with the pope, entered the city. Nicolas set on foot solemn A.D. 864. prayers, with fasting, for the change of the emperor's heart. Penitents moved about the streets in long processions, and offered up their supplications in the churches; but as one of these penitential trains was about to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, it was violently assaulted by some of the imperial soldiers. Crosses and banners were broken in the fray; one large cross of especial sanctity, which was believed to be the gift of the empress Helena to St. Peter's see, and to contain a piece of the wood on which the Redeemer suffered, was thrown down and trodden in the mire, from which the fragments were picked up by some English pilgrims. Nicolas, in fear lest he should be seized, left the Lateran palace, crossed the river in a boat, and took refuge in St. Peter's, where for two days and nights he remained without food.[a] But in the meanwhile signs which seemed to declare the wrath of heaven began to appear. The soldier who had broken the precious cross died. Lewis himself was seized with a fever, and in alarm sent his empress to mediate with the pope. A reconciliation was thus effected, and, after having committed many acts of violence, the troops withdrew from Rome.[b] The emperor ordered Gunther and Theutgaud to leave his camp and to return home, and it would seem that Nicolas had stipulated for freedom of action in his proceedings as to the case of Lothair.[c]

Gunther had drawn up, in his own name and in that of his brother archbishop, a protest against their deposition, conceived in terms which Hincmar described as diaboli-

[a] Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 463. See Murat. Annali, V. i. 84-6.

[b] Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 463-4

[c] Planck, iii. 70.

cal and altogether unprecedented.[d] In this document Nicolas is charged with madness and tyrannic fury, with extravagant pride and assumption, with fraud and cunning, with outrageous violation of all the forms of justice and ecclesiastical law ; the archbishops declare that they spurn and defy his accursed sentence—that they are resolved not to admit him into their communion, "being content with the communion and brotherly society of the whole church" ; and they conclude by asserting that Waldrada was not a concubine but a wife, inasmuch as she had been contracted to Lothair before his union with Theutberga.[e] With this paper Gunther now sent his brother Hilduin to the pope, charging him, if it were refused, to lay it on the high altar of St. Peter's ; and Hilduin executed the commission, forcing his way into St. Peter's with a party of Gunther's adherents, who beat the guardians of the church and killed one of them who resisted.[f] Gunther also circulated the protest among the German bishops, and sent a copy of it to Photius, of Constantinople, with whom Nicolas was by this time seriously embroiled.[g] The other Lotharingian bishops, however, were terrified by the pope's threats, or were gained by his promises, and made submission to him in very abject terms.[h]

Gunther had hurried from Rome to Cologne ; in defiance of the pope's sentence he had performed episcopal functions ; and he had made a compact with his canons, by which, at a great sacrifice both of power and of revenue, he drew them into concurrence in his proceedings.[i] The pusillanimous Lothair—partly influenced by the demonstrations of his uncles against him—now abandoned the

[d] Hincmar's expressions, however, are nothing to those of Baronius, 863. 31.

[e] The protest is given by Hincmar, Annal. 864 ; also in the Annal. Fuldenses, but without the preface.

[f] Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 464.

[g] Planck, iii. 74-5.

[h] See the letters of Adventius of Metz and others relating to him, in Hard. v. 321-5.

[i] Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 465.

cause of the deposed metropolitans. He gave up Gunther altogether, and expressed horror at his acts, while he entreated that Theutgaud, in consideration of his simple character, and of his obedience to the pope's judgment, might be more leniently dealt with. As for himself, he professed himself willing to go to Rome, and to obey the pope "like one of the meanest of men."[k] Gunther, indignant at finding himself thus sacrificed, declared an intention of exposing all the king's proceedings, and set out for Rome, carrying with him as much of the treasures of his see as he could lay hands on, in the hope that by such means he might be able to propitiate the pope. But he was again disappointed; Nicolas in a synod renewed the condemnation which had been passed both on him and on Theutgaud.[l] In the meantime Lothair bestowed the archbishoprick of Cologne on Hugh, abbot of St. Bertin's, whom Hincmar describes as a subdeacon, but of habits which would have been discreditable to a layman. The preferment was probably a reward for the exertion of the abbot's influence with Charles the Bald, to whom he was maternally related.[m]

The meanness of Lothair's behaviour served only to increase the contempt and disgust with which Nicolas had before regarded him. The pope A.D. 865. wrote to the other Frankish princes, desiring them not to interfere in the matter, as it was for his own judgment alone; and it is remarked by Hincmar that in these letters he made no use of such terms of courtesy as had been usual in the letters of Roman bishops to sovereigns.[n] He sent Arsenius, bishop of Orba, as his legate, with orders to visit Lewis of Germany and Charles; but it was declared

[k] Ep. ad Nicol. ap. Hard. v. 336. Letters of Nicolas as to the two archbishops, Nos. 56, 58, in Hard.

[l] Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 465; Gfrörer, i. 397.

[m] Hincm. l. c.; Gfrörer, i. 369, 370.

[n] Ap. Pertz, i. 468. See Planck, iii. 84; Hefele, iv. 293.

that, unless Lothair would give up Waldrada, the legate must hold no communication with him, nor would the king be admitted to an audience if he should repair to Rome. Arsenius received Theutberga from the hands of Charles, and delivered her to Lothair, who, in terror at the pope's threats of excommunication, swore on the Gos-

Aug. 13, 865. pels and on a fragment of the true cross that he would always treat her with the honour due to a queen, imprecating on himself the most fearful judgments, both in this world and in the next, if he should fail. Twelve of his nobles joined in the oath, and the reunion of the royal pair was sealed by a new coronation.[o] Waldrada was committed to the care of the legate; but in the course of his return to Rome both she and another royal lady of light character, Ingeltrude,[p] wife of Count Boso, contrived to make their escape from him, and Waldrada rejoined Lothair, by whom her escape had been planned.[q] The king had cast aside all regard for his oath almost immediately after having sworn it. His submissiveness towards the pope was forgotten. He ejected Hugh from Cologne,[s] confirmed Gunther's arrangement with the canons, and put Hilduin into the see as nominal archbishop, while both the power and the revenues were really in the hands of Gunther.[r]

Theutberga now again escaped from her husband, and, worn out by the miseries to which she had been subjected, petitioned the pope for a dissolution of the marriage. She went so far as even to own Waldrada to be the rightful wife of Lothair, and she requested leave to repair to Rome and tell all her story. But Nicolas was firm in asserting the rights which the unhappy queen had been wrought on to abandon. He solemnly excommunicated Waldrada, and

[o] Hincm. A.D. 865, pp. 468-9.
[p] See Baron. 862. 33; 865. 63.
[q] Annal. Fuld. 867 (Pertz, t. i.); Regino, ib. p. 574; Hard. v. 270, 274, 279.
[r] Hincm. Annal. 866, p. 471.

charged the Frankish bishops to hold Lothair separate from the church until he should repent of his misdeeds. He told Theutberga that he could not comply with a request which was evidently made under constraint; that, if Lothair's marriage were to be dissolved, the precedent would enable any man to get rid of his wife by ill usage; that she must consider herself as under the protection of the apostolic see; that, instead of travelling to Rome, she should persuade Lothair to send Waldrada thither for trial: and in all his letters he insisted on celibacy on Lothair's part as a necessary condition of any separation.[s] Lothair again attempted to pacify the pope by flattery; he assured him that he had not cohabited with Waldrada, or even seen her, since her return from Italy;[t] but Nicolas was unmoved, and appeared to be on the point of pronouncing a sentence of excommunication against the king, when he was arrested by death in May 867.[u]

The increase of the papal power under this pontiff was immense. He had gained such a control over princes as was before unknown. He had taken the unexampled steps of deposing foreign metropolitans, and of annulling the decisions of a Frankish national council by the vote of a Roman synod. He had neglected all the old canonical formalities which stood in the way of his exercising an immediate jurisdiction throughout the western church. And in all this he had been supported by the public feeling of indignation against Lothair and his subservient clergy, which caused men to overlook the novelty and the usurping character of the pope's measures. The other Frank princes had encouraged him in his proceedings against Lothair. The great prelates of Lo

[s] Annal. Fuld. 867; Regino, ap. Pertz, i. 574-5; Nic. Epp. 48-51.

[t] Patrol. cxxi. 474.

[u] Planck, iii. 90-2; Gfrörer, i. 425. See Hefele, iv. 294-5.

tharingia, strong in position and in family interest, had rendered themselves powerless before the bishop of Rome by espousing a discreditable and unpopular cause.[x] The pope appeared, not as an invader of the rights of sovereigns and of churches, but as the champion of justice and innocence against the oppressors of the earth.

Adrian II., the successor of Nicolas, had already twice declined the papacy, and was seventy-five years of age at the time of his election. The partisans of the late pope apprehended a change of policy, by which the recent acquisitions might be lost.[y] But in this they were mistaken. Adrian appears to have been urged on by a feeling that he was expected to show want of energy, and by a wish to falsify the expectation. He soon cast aside the air of humility and of deference towards the emperor which he had at first displayed. The losses which the papacy suffered under him arose, not from a reversal of his predecessor's policy, but from the attempt to carry it on in an exaggerated form, without the skill of Nicolas, without understanding the change of circumstances, or the manner of adapting his measures to them.[z]

The beginning of Adrian's pontificate was marked by a tragedy among his own nearest connexions. The pope, himself the son of a bishop,[a] had been married—a circumstance which contributed to the alarm felt at his election, as Nicolas, like other chief agents in the exaltation of the papacy, had been strenuous for the celibacy of the clergy.[b] Adrian's wife, and a daughter, the offspring of their marriage, were still alive; but, within a few days

[x] Planck, iii. 94; Gfrörer, i. 365; Milman, ii. 293.

[y] Anastas. Bibl. Ep. ad Adon. Viennens. ap. Hard. v. 390; Vita Adriani, annexed to Anastasius, ap. Murator. iii. 263.

[z] Planck, iii. 149; Giesel. II. i. 198; Gfrörer, ii. 3.

[a] Vita, 261.

[b] This appears from the letter of Anastasius to Ado, where it is said that all whom Nicolas had rebuked "pro diverso *adulterii* genare," or for other causes, were bent on overthrowing his work. See above, note [y].

after his election, the daughter, who had been betrothed to a nobleman, was carried off, together with her mother, by Eleutherius, a son of Arsenius of Orba. Eleutherius, on being pursued, killed both the women, but was himself taken prisoner. Arsenius, with whose intrigues this affair was connected, did not long survive. It is said that on his deathbed he was heard to discourse with fiends, and that he departed without receiving the eucharist. At the instance of Adrian, the emperor appointed commissioners for the trial of Eleutherius, who was put to death by their sentence.[c]

Lothair conceived fresh hopes from the change of popes, and wrote to Adrian in terms expressive of high regard for his predecessor, while he complained that Nicolas had wronged him by listening to idle rumours.[d] At his request, Adrian released Waldrada from her excommunication, and the king himself was invited to Rome. "Rome," the pope wrote, "is never unjust, and is always willing to receive the penitent. If you are conscious of innocence, come for a blessing; if guilty, come for the remedy of a suitable repentance."[e] Theutberga was persuaded by Lothair to renew her application for a divorce. She went to Rome in person, and, in addition to the old grounds, alleged that she had ailments which rendered it impossible for her to perform the duties of a wife. But Adrian, like Nicolas, refused her request, on the ground that she was acting under constraint, and desired her to return home.[f]

The absolution of Waldrada had included the condition that she should not keep company with Lothair.[g] By artfully affecting to obey this order, she goaded his

[c] Hincm. Annal. 868; Murat. Annal. V. i. 101.

[d] The letter is in Regino, Annal. 868 (Pertz, i. 579).

[e] Regino, ib.

[f] Hincm. Annal. 867, p. 476; Schröckh, xxii. 163.

[g] Hincm. Annal. p. 477; Hard. v. 704-5.

passion to madness, so that he resolved at all risks—even leaving his territories open to the restless ambition of his uncle Charles—to sue in person to the pope for a dissolution of his union with Theutberga. He was made to pay heavily for the means of approach to the pontiff, who, by the intervention of Ingilberga, wife of the emperor Lewis, was prevailed on to meet him at Monte Cassino, where it was supposed that Adrian might be more tractable than when surrounded by the partisans of Nicolas at Rome. Adrian refused to dissolve the marriage, but, in consideration of a large sum of money, agreed to administer the holy eucharist to the king—a favour which Lothair desired in order to dissipate the popular opinion, which regarded him as virtually excommunicate. "If," said the pope at the solemnity, "thou hast observed the charge of Nicolas, and art firmly resolved never to have intercourse with Waldrada, draw near, and receive unto salvation; but if thy conscience accuse thee, or if thou purpose to return to wallow in thine uncleanness, refrain, lest that which is ordained as a remedy for the faithful should turn to thy damage." Lothair, in surprise and agitation, received the consecrated symbols. His nobles, after being adjured as to their consent or privity to any breach of his oath, communicated after him; and Gunther, the survivor of the deposed archbishops, who had once more repaired to Italy in the hope of obtaining a release,[h] was admitted to communicate as a layman, on presenting a written profession of submission, and swearing that he would never again exercise any spiritual office unless the pope should be pleased to relieve him from his disability.[i]

A.D. 869.

[h] Hincm. Annal. 869; Tosti, Storia di Mte. Cassino, i. 54. Theutgaud, with some other bishops who had been under censures, had been admitted to communion at the mass of Adrian's consecration. Anastas. in Patrol. cxxviii. 1382. See Mabill. Annal. iii. 151.

[i] Hincm. Annal. 869, p. 481; Regino, pp. 581-3. Hincmar (l. c.),

The king followed Adrian to Rome, but a change had come over the pope's disposition towards him. Instead of being received with the honours usually paid to sovereigns, he found no one of the clergy to meet him when he presented himself at St. Peter's, and he was obliged to approach the apostle's tomb unattended. On retiring to his lodging in the papal palace, he found it unfurnished, and even unswept; and when, on the following day, which was Sunday, he again repaired to the church, no priest appeared to say mass for him. Next day, however, he dined with the pope in the Lateran palace, and after an exchange of presents, in which the king's vessels of gold and silver were requited with a woollen cloak, a palm-branch, and a rod—they parted on friendly terms.[k]

The pope resolved to examine the case of the divorce in a council which was to be held at Rome in the following year. With a view to this investigation, he summoned the bishops of the three Frankish kingdoms to send representatives to the council; and he was about to send commissioners across the Alps for the purpose of inquiry, when he received tidings of Lothair's death.[l] The king had left Rome in the middle of July. At Lucca a fatal sickness broke out among his attendants. He himself died at Piacenza, on the 8th of August; and it is said that before the end of the year all who had partaken of the communion at Monte Cassino were dead, while the few who had abstained from it survived.[m]

Gfrörer (ii. 18), Jaffé (257), and Hefele (iv. 299), place this scene at Monte Cassino; Fleury (li. 23), Pagi (xv. 154), Schröckh (xxii. 167), and Sismondi (iii. 155-8), after the pope's return to Rome. Regino says nothing of the visit to Monte Cassino.

[k] "Quæ munera ita ipse et sui interpretati sunt, videlicet ut per lænam de Waldrada revestiretur, per palmam victorem se in his quæ cœperat demonstraret, per ferulam episcopos suæ voluntati resistentes obsistendo distringeret. Sed aliter ab eodem papa et Romanis fuere disposita." Hincm. Annal. p. 482. Gregorovius supposes the pope's gifts to have been ironically meant. iii. 180.

[l] Hincm. l. c.; Gfrörer, ii. 18.

[m] Hincm. Ann. p. 482; Regino, p. 581; Sigeb. Gembl. ap. Bouquet, vii. 251. Perhaps the circumstances of

Theutberga became abbess of a monastery, and bestowed large sums for the soul of the husband who had so cruelly injured her.[n] Waldrada also took refuge in a cloister.[o]

II. In the question of Lothair's divorce, Nicolas and Hincmar were led by the common interests of justice and morality to act in harmony with each other. But in other cases, where the claims of Rome conflicted with the archbishop's attachment either to his sovereign or to the national church of France, the popes found in him a decided and formidable opponent.

One of these cases arose out of the conduct of Ebbo, who, as we have seen,[p] had been deprived of the see of Reims for his acts of rebellion against Lewis the Pious. During the contests between that emperor's sons, Reims for a time fell into the possession of the emperor Lothair, with whom Ebbo had ingratiated himself. The archbishop returned to his see, carrying with him, in addition to the imperial mandate for his restoration, the favourable judgment of a synod held at Ingelheim,[q] under Lothair's influence, and under the presidency of Drogo of Metz, who had also presided at his deposition. His penitential professions at Thionville[r] were now explained away by the assertion that, in declaring himself "unworthy" of his see, he had meant nothing more than what was signified by the same word in the ordinary style of bishops;[s] he had humbled himself

A.D. 841.

the mortality may have been accommodated by popular belief to the expectation of a judgment on perjury. But there seems to be no ground whatever for the suspicion of Sismondi, who says that the clergy, regarding the communion as an ordeal, and expecting a miracle, *did not care what they gave the king*. iii. 156.

[n] Mabill. Annal. iii. 111.

[o] Muratori, Annali, V. ii. 107.

[p] P. 287.

[q] June, 840; Pertz, Leges, i. 374.

[r] See p. 287.

[s] Documents not uncommonly began or were subscribed "Ego N. indignus episcopus."

(he said), and therefore had now risen in greater strength than before.[t]

After the battle of Fontenailles, Ebbo fled from Reims in fear of Charles the Bald. He in vain attempted to obtain restitution by means of Sergius II.; but the pope, overruling the ancient canons against the translation of bishops, sanctioned his appointment to Hildesheim, on the nomination of Lewis the German, in 844.[u]

Hincmar, soon after his promotion to the archbishoprick of Reims in 845, found that some clerks, of whom one Wulfad was the most prominent, had been ordained by Ebbo during his second occupation of the see.[x] He denied the validity of orders conferred by one whom he regarded as an intruder, and, on the application of the clerks to a synod held at Soissons in 853, the case was investigated by a commission of bishops, who declared Ebbo's restoration to have been uncanonical, and the orders which he had given to be void. Wulfad and his brethren would have been excluded even from lay communion, on the ground that, by charging some members of the synod with having received their consecration from Ebbo, they had incurred the sentence denounced by the council of Elvira against those who should slander bishops;[y] but at the request of Charles the Bald they were released from this penalty.[z] Hincmar, as being a party in the case, and as the regularity of his own appointment had been impugned, desired that the synod's judgment might be fortified by the highest authority, and requested Leo IV. to confirm it. The pope refused, on the ground (among other things) that the clerks had appealed to Rome; but Lothair, hitherto the archbishop's

Hard. iv. 1447-1552.

[u] Flodoard, ii. 20; Annal. Hildesh. in Patrol. cxli. 1241; Hard. v. 49; Hincm. ii. 305.

[x] Ib. 306.

[y] Conc. Illiber. A.D. 305? c. 75.

[z] Pertz, Leges, i 416; Hard. v. 48-52.

enemy, interceded for him, and Leo sent him the pall, by which he was constituted primate of Neustria.[a]

A.D. 855. Benedict III. on Hincmar's application confirmed the privileges thus bestowed on him, and declared that there should be no appeal from his judgment, saving the rights of the apostolic see; he also confirmed the deposition of Wulfad and his companions, provided (as he expressly said) that the facts of the case were as they had been represented to him.[b] And Nicolas, in 863, renewed both the grant to Hincmar and the judgment as to the clerks, with the same condition which had been stated by his predecessor.[c]

But three years later this pope professed to have discovered great unfairness in the statements on

A.D. 866. which the applications to Benedict and to himself had been grounded, and ordered that Hincmar should restore the clerks, or else should submit the matter to a council, with leave for them, if its judgment should be unfavourable, to appeal to the apostolic see.[d] A second synod was accordingly held at Soissons. Hincmar handed in four tracts,[e] in justification of Ebbo's deposition, of his own appointment, and of the proceedings against the clerks—to whose restoration, however, he professed himself willing to consent, provided that it could be granted without prejudice to the laws of the church. The council decided that the deposition had been right in point of justice, but that it might be reversed by the higher law of mercy, according to the precedent of the Nicene judgment as to the Novatianists,[f] and to the provisions of the African church for the reconciliation of the

[a] Leo, Ep. 22 (Patrol. cxv.); Flodoard, iii. 2 (ib. cxxxv.); Gfrörer, i. 238-40 (who, of course, has his theory as to the reason of Lothair's conduct).

[b] Ep. 1 (Patrol. cxv.); Hincm. ii. 310, 855.

[c] Hard. v. 326.

[d] Nic. ad Hincm. ap. Hard. v. 601 2.

[e] Opera, ii. 265, seqq.

[f] See vol. i. p. 170.

Donatists.[g] But Nicolas, instead of confirming the acts, strongly censured the council for having omitted to cancel the judgment of that which had been held in 853; he blamed it for having sanctioned the promotion of Wulfad by Charles the Bald to the see of Bourges[h] without requesting the papal consent; he told the bishops that they ought to have sent him all the documents relating to Ebbo, and that they must now do so; and in letters to them, to Charles, and to Hincmar, he charged the archbishop with falsehood, fraud, cunning, and injustice.[i] At the same time he wrote to Wulfad and his brethren, exhorting them to pay due reverence to Hincmar.[k]

The deposition of Ebbo and the appointment of his successor again came into question before a council assembled from six provinces at Troyes in October 867.[l] The decision was in favour of Hincmar; but the council did an important service to the papal interest by requesting Nicolas to decree that no archbishop or bishop should be deposed without the consent of the apostolic see.[m] Hincmar and Nicolas were at last brought nearer to each other on this question by their respective dangers from other quarters. The archbishop was afraid of the influence which Wulfad had acquired over Charles the Bald, while the pope; who was now engaged in a formidable struggle with the patriarch Photius and the eastern church, was unwilling to tempt the Franks to side with his opponents. On receiving the envoys whom Hincmar

[g] Vol. ii. p. 133; Hard. v. 626; Hincm. Annal. 866, p. 472.

[h] See ib.

Nic. Ep. ad Synod. ap. Hard. v. 633-40; ad Hincm. ib. 640; ad Carol. ib. 648; Gfrörer, i. 495-6. He also reproached him for using the pall at other times than those allowed by the apostolic see; to which the archbishop replied that he hardly used it at all, except at Christmas and Easter, and speaks of it with something like indifference. (Hard. v. 647, 667.) Flodoard says that Leo had granted him permission to use the pall daily, professing that he never had given, or would give, the like privilege to any other person. iii. 10.

[k] Hard. v. 649.

[l] Hincm. Annal. p. 475; Hard. v. 679, seqq.

[m] Ib. 675, 681.

had sent to Rome after the synod of Troyes, Nicolas expressed approbation of his proceedings, and wrote to request that he and other learned men of France would assist in the controversy with the Greeks.[n] With this request the archbishop complied; and Nicolas was soon after succeeded by Adrian, who confirmed Wulfad in the see of Bourges and bestowed the pall on him, but at the same time behaved with great respect to Hincmar.[o]

Thus the dispute ended peacefully. But in the course of it much had been done to infringe on the independence of the Frankish church. Nicolas claimed that the Frankish synods should be called by order of the pope; that the parties in a cause might appeal from such synods to Rome either before or after judgment; that the synods should report to the pope before pronouncing the sentence; that the bishops who acted as judges should be compelled to go to Rome for the purpose of justifying their decision; that the pope should have the power of annulling all their acts, so that it should be necessary to begin the process anew.[p] Hincmar and his party, while they had the ancient laws of the church in their favour, felt themselves unable to struggle against the complication of political interests; the archbishop found himself obliged to concede the principle of an appeal to Rome, according to the canon of Sardica, although Charlemagne had excluded that canon from his collection, and it owed its insertion among the Frank capitularies to the forger Benedict the Levite.[q] And the petition of the council of Troyes—suggested, no doubt, by the punishments to which Ebbo and others had been subjected on account of their acts against Lewis the Pious—shows how,

[n] Nic. Ep. 70, ib. 307, seqq.; Hincm. Annal. 867, pp. 475-6; Schröckh, xxii. 142.

[o] Hard. v. 691; Gfrörer, i. 499-502; ii. 1-3.

[p] Schröckh, xxii. 143.

[q] Bened. Capitul. ii. 64; iii 133, 412 (Patrol. xcvii.); Giesel II. i 63. See above, pp. 127, 330.

under the idea of securing themselves against other powers, the Frankish prelates contributed to aggrandize Rome by investing it with universal control in the character of general protector of the church.[r]

III. At the same time with the affair as to Ebbo's ordinations another controversy was going on between Nicolas and Hincmar, which exhibited in a yet more striking manner the nature of the new claims set up in behalf of the papacy.

Rothad, bishop of Soissons, in the province of Reims, had occupied his see thirty years, and had long been on unfriendly terms with the archbishop.[s] The accounts which we have of the differences between the bishop and his metropolitan must be received with caution, as they come for the most part from Rothad, or from the Lotharingian bishops, who were hostile to Hincmar on account of his proceedings in the case of Theutberga; while they are in part directly contradicted by Hincmar himself.[t]

Rothad, according to his own report, with the consent of thirty-three bishops, deposed a presbyter who had been caught in the act of unchastity. The man carried his complaint to Hincmar, who, after having imposed on him a penance of three years, restored him to his benefice, excommunicated and imprisoned the clerk whom Rothad had put into it, and persecuted the bishop himself for his share in the affair.[u] Even by this account, it would seem that Rothad had ventured to invade the rights of his metropolitan by holding a synod independently of him.[x] But in addition to this, Hincmar, while disclaim-

[r] Planck, iii. 143-7; Giesel. II. i. 197.
[s] Schröckh, xxii. 135.
[t] Ib. 145.
[u] Rothad, ap. Hard. v. 581; Nic. Ep. 29, ib. 249.
[x] Gfrörer, i. 464.

ing all personal malice against the bishop of Soissons, charges him with long insubordination, with notorious laxity of life, and with dilapidating, selling, or pledging the property of his see.[y] However their disagreement may have arisen, Hincmar in 861 suspended Rothad from his office until he should become obedient, and threatened him with deposition; whereupon the bishop appealed to Rome.[z]

In the following year, Rothad appeared at a synod held at Pistres,[a] as if no censure had been passed against him. His presence was objected to, on which he again appealed to the pope, and asked leave to go to Rome, which Charles the Bald at first granted. But the case was afterwards, with the concurrence of Charles, examined by a synod at Soissons in the end of the same year, when Rothad, who had been imprisoned for his contumacy in refusing to appear, was sentenced to deposition, while an abbey was assigned to him for his maintenance, and another person was appointed to his see.[b] According to Hincmar, he was content with this arrangement, until some Lotharingian bishops, wishing to use him as a tool against the great opponent of their sovereign's divorce, persuaded him to resume his appeal to the pope.[c] Rothad's own statement is, that Hincmar, having got possession of a letter in which he requested a continuance of support from some bishops who had befriended him at Pistres, wrongly represented this as an abandonment of his appeal, and a reference of his cause to those Frankish bishops.[d]

A.D. 862.

[y] Opera, ii. 248, 251-3.

[z] Schröckh, xxii. 144; Planck, iii. 103.

[a] Near Pont de l'Arche, on the Seine.

[b] Hincm. Annal. 862-3, Opera ii. 249. Gfrörer (ii. 465) and others suppose the sentence to have been passed by a synod at Senlis, in 863; but this arises from a mistake of *Silvanectensis* for *Suessioniensis* in the heading of Nic. Ep. 32. Hefele, iv. 247.

[c] Opera, ii. 249.

[d] Rothad. Libellus, ap. Hard. v 580. See Planck, iii. 104.

Hincmar and the prelates who had met at Soissons, by way of obviating the pope's objections to their proceedings, requested Nicolas to confirm their acts, while, in excuse for their disregard of Rothad's appeal, they alleged that the old imperial laws forbade such cases to be carried out of the kingdom. But Nicolas had received representations of the affair from the bishops of Lotharingia, and replied by censuring the synod very strongly for the insult which it had offered to St. Peter by presuming to judge a matter in which an appeal had been made to Rome.[e] In consequence of that appeal, he declared its judgment to be null. Temporal laws, he said, are good against heretics and tyrants, but are of no force when they clash with the rights of the church.[f] He tells the members of the assembly that they must either restore Rothad to his see, or within thirty days send deputies to assert their cause against him before the apostolical tribunal.[g] With his usual skill, he assumes the character of a general guardian of the church by remarking that the same evil which had happened to Rothad might befall any one of themselves, and he points out the chair of St. Peter as the refuge for bishops oppressed by their metropolitans.[h] At the same time Nicolas wrote to Hincmar in terms of severe censure.[i] He tells him that, if Rothad had not appealed, he must himself have inquired into the matter—a claim of right to interfere which had not before been advanced by Rome.[k] He asked with what consistency Hincmar could apply to the Roman see for a confirmation of his privileges as metropolitan, or how he could attach any value to privileges derived from Rome, while he did all that he could to lessen its authority; and, as the first

[e] Ep. 32, ap. Hard. v. 254, seqq.
[f] Ib. 256, a.
[g] Ib. 257-8.
[h] Compare the letters to Charles and Hincmar, Hard. v. 248, 257.
[i] Ep. 28.
[k] Planck, iii. 114-17.

letter received no answer, the pope wrote again, telling the archbishop that within thirty days he must either reinstate Rothad, or send him and some representatives of his accusers to Rome, on pain of being interdicted from the celebration of the eucharist until he should comply.[l] He also wrote to Rothad, encouraging him to persevere in his appeal unless he were conscious of having a bad cause ;[m] and, notwithstanding the importunities of Charles and his queen, who entreated him to let the matter rest, he desired the king to send Rothad to Rome.[n] The second letter to Hincmar, and two which followed it, remained unanswered ; and Nicolas then wrote a fifth, but in a milder tone, as he was afraid to drive the archbishop to extremities, lest he should join the party of Gunther.[o]

In the beginning of 864, Rothad obtained permission to go to Rome. Hincmar also sent two envoys—not, he said, as accusers, but in order to justify his own proceedings.[p] They carried with them a letter of great length,[q] in which, with profuse expressions of humility and reverence towards the apostolic see, he admits the right of appeal as sanctioned by the Sardican canon, but says that, according to the African canons and to Gregory the Great, Rothad, by referring the case to judges of his own choosing, had foregone the right of carrying it to any other tribunal.[r] He tells the pope that Rothad had for many years been unruly and had treated all remonstrances with contempt, so that he himself had incurred much obloquy for allowing a man so notoriously unfit and incorrigible to retain the episcopal office.[s] He dwells

[l] Ep. 29.
[m] Epp. 33-4.
[n] Epp. 30, 35.
[o] Gfrörer, i. 471.
[p] Opera, ii. 247.
[q] Opera, ii. 244, seqq. Hincmar says that the pope appears to be troubled by his *multiloquium;* but he goes on to allege St. Augustine on behalf of it (247), and he certainly does not correct it.
[r] Ib. 248, 251.
[s] Ib. 248.

much on the necessity that bishops should obey their metropolitans, and endeavours very earnestly to obtain the pope's confirmation of his past proceedings, assuring him that Rothad shall be well provided for.[t]

Hincmar's envoys were detained on the way by the emperor Lewis, but the letter was sent onwards and reached the pope.[u] Rothad was allowed to proceed to Rome, and, six months after his arrival, presented a statement of his case.[x] On Christmas eve, three months later, Nicolas ascended the pulpit of St. Mary Major, and made a speech on the subject. Even if Hincmar's story were true, he said, it was no longer in the power of Rothad, after he had appealed to the apostolic see, to transfer his cause to an inferior tribunal; since Rothad professed himself willing to meet all charges, and since no accuser had appeared against him, the pope declared him to be worthy of restoration;[y] and, after having waited until the feast of St. Agnes, he publicly invested the bishop with pontifical robes, and desired him to officiate at mass before him.[z] Jan. 21, 865.

As Rothad maintained that he had never abandoned his appeal, and as his accusers had suffered judgment to go by default, the proceedings of Nicolas thus far might have been justified by the Sardican canon, which suspended the execution of sentence against a bishop until the pope should have submitted the cause to a fresh examination; and Hincmar had failed in the observance of that canon by appointing another bishop to Soissons.[a] But, in letters which he wrote on the occasion, the pope gave vent to some startling novelties—that the decretals of his predecessors had been violated; that the deposi-

[t] Opera, ii. 258-9; Planck, iii. 117-120.

[u] Hincm. Annal. 864, ap. Pertz, i. 465.

[x] Hard. v. 579.

[y] Ib. 583-4.

[z] Anastas. 322.

[a] Planck, iii. 122-5; Giesel. II. i. 196.

tion of Rothad was invalid, because the council which had pronounced it was held without the apostolic permission, and, further, because the deposition of a bishop was one of those "greater judgments" which belong to the apostolic chair alone.[b] He required Hincmar, under pain of perpetual deposition, either at once to restore Rothad unconditionally, or to reinstate him for the time, and to appear at Rome for the further trial of the question.[c]

Nicolas had originally stood on the Sardican canon, but he now took very different ground; and the change was the more striking, because the new principles which he advanced were really unnecessary to his cause.[d] These principles were derived from the pretended decretals of Isidore, which are for the first time mentioned as being known at Rome in the letter of Nicolas to the French bishops.[e] In 860, Lupus of Ferrières, at the instigation of Wenilo, archbishop of Sens,[f] had written a letter in which he hinted a reference to them by saying that pope Melchiades, the contemporary of Constantine, was reported to have laid down that no bishop could be deposed without the pope's consent; and the abbot had requested that Nicolas would send a copy of the decretal as preserved at Rome.[g] From the pope's silence as to this point in his answer,[h] it is inferred that he then knew nothing of the forged collection; and the same was the case in 863, when he spoke of the decretals of Siricius as the oldest that were known.[i] But now—only one year later

[b] Ad Cler. et Pleb. Eccl. Rom. ap. Hard. v. 584; ad Carol. Calv. ib. 585; ad Hincmar, ib. 588; ad Universos Episcopos Galliæ, ib. 590, 593; Planck, iii. 127-8.

[c] Hard. v. 588-90.

[d] Planck, iii. 130.

[e] Schröckh, xxii. 152-4; Gfrörer, i. 478-9. Baronius (865. 7), against all reason, contends that the decretals on which Nicolas relied were not the forged but the genuine ones. See Pagi in loc., and Planck, iii. 135-7.

[f] See p. 320.

[g] Ep. 130 (Patrol. cxix.). Mansi dates the letter in 858.

[h] Ep. 1, Patrol. cxix.

[i] Ep. 32, ib.; Gfrörer, i. 462-3.

—he is found citing those of the Isidorian collection: and when some of the French bishops expressed a doubt respecting them, on the ground that they were not in the code of Dionysius Exiguus, he answered that on the same ground they might suspect the decretals of Gregory and other popes later than Dionysius — nay, they might even suspect the canonical Scriptures; that there were genuine decretals preserved elsewhere; that, as Innocent had ordered all the canonical books to be received, so had Leo ordered the reception of all papal decretals; that they themselves were in the habit of using these epistles when favourable to their own interest, and questioned them only when the object was to injure the rights of the apostolical see.[k] It would seem, therefore, that Nicolas had been made acquainted with the forged decretals during Rothad's stay at Rome—most probably by Rothad himself.[l] That the bishop of Soissons was privy to the forgery, appears likely from the facts that he was already a bishop when it was executed, and that he was connected with the party from which it emanated.[m] But we need not suppose that Nicolas knowingly adopted an imposture. The principles of the decretals had been floating in the mind of the age; on receiving the forgeries, the pope recognized in them his own ideal of ecclesiastical polity, and he welcomed them as affording a historical foundation for it. We may therefore, (in charity at least,) acquit him of conscious fraud in this matter, although something of criminality will still attach to the care with which he seems to have avoided all examination of their genuineness,[n] and to the eagerness with which he

[k] Hard. v. 592-3; Planck, iii. 132-4; Gfrörer, i. 479-80.

[l] Hinschius, 207.

[m] Gfrörer, i. 483-5.

[n] See Planck, iii. 135-7; Giesel. II. i. 185; Gfrörer, i. 483-4; and Dean Milman, ii. 308, who seems to think the pope's share in the matter even worse than that of the forger. I do not see that Walter (187) improves the case by saying that Nicolas knew the decretals only through extracts pre-

welcomed these pretended antiquities, coming from a foreign country, in disregard of the obvious consideration that, if genuine, they must have all along been known in his own city.

Hincmar made no further active opposition, but acquiesced in the restitution of Rothad, although in his chronicle of the time he speaks of it as effected by might in defiance of rule,[o] and argues that it was inconsistent with the Sardican canon. The act was performed by Arsenius, during the mission which has been mentioned in connexion with the history of Lothair's marriages,[p] and Rothad appears to have died soon after, in the beginning of Adrian's pontificate.[q]

IV. If even Nicolas had found Hincmar a dangerous antagonist, Adrian was altogether unequal to contend with him.

On the death of Lothair II., in 869, Charles the Bald immediately seized his dominions. Adrian felt that, after the part which his predecessor and he himself had taken to make the world regard the papal see as the general vindicator of justice, he was bound to interfere in behalf of the nearer heirs — the emperor Lewis, and his uncle the king of Germany.[r] He therefore wrote in terms of strong remonstrance to Charles, to the nobles of Lotharingia, and to the Neustrian bishops;[s] he sent envoys who, during the performance of divine service at St. Denys, threatened the wrath of St. Peter against the king; he wrote to Hincmar, blaming him for his supineness, desiring him to oppose his sovereign's ambitious

sented to him by French bishops, or even that he never of himself referred to them; and Denzinger's attempt to vindicate the pope (Patrol. cxxx., Præf. xii.) seems also a failure.

[o] "Non regulariter sed potentialiter." Hincm. Annal. 865, p. 468.

[p] P. 377.

[q] Anastas. 259; Gfrörer, i. 485.

[r] Schröckh, xxii. 169; Planck, iii. 153.

[s] Hard v. 707, seqq.

projects, and charging him, if Charles should persist in them, to avoid his communion;[t] and, as his letters received no answer, he wrote again, threatening, apparently in imitation of Gregory IV., to go into France in person for the redress of the wrong which had been attempted.[u]

In the meantime Hincmar had placed the crown of Lotharingia on the head of Charles,[x] who by the partition of Mersen had made an accommodation with Lewis of Germany, and consequently felt himself independent of the pope. The archbishop took no notice of Adrian's first communication; but he returned a remarkable answer to the second.[y] He disclaimed all judgment of the political question as to inheritance; his king, he says, had required his obedience, and he had felt himself bound to obey. He complains of it as a novel hardship that he should be required to avoid the communion of Charles: for the Lotharingian bishops had not been obliged to break off communion with their late sovereign, although he lived in adultery; the popes themselves had not broken off communion with princes who were guilty of crimes, or even of heresy; and Charles had not been convicted of any breach of faith which could warrant his bishops in refusing to communicate with him.[z] Sept. 9, 869.

But the most striking part of the letter was where Hincmar professed to report the language held by the nobles of Lotharingia—a significant hint of his own opinion, and of the reception which the pope might expect if he were to follow out the line of conduct on which

[t] Hadr. Ep. 21; Hincm. Opera, ii. 690.

[u] Ep. 22 ad Proceres Regni Gfrörer, ii. 30, 35.

[x] See Hincm. Annal. 869, pp. 483-5; and Pertz, Leges, i. 512-15. It is on this occasion that the first mention occurs of the chrism sent from heaven for the baptism of Clovis, as used in the unction of Frank sovereigns. See vol. ii. p. 261.

[y] Opera, ii. 689, seqq. See Baron. 870. 21, seqq.

[z] Pp. 691, 694.

he had entered. He tells Adrian that they contrast his tone towards Charles with the submissiveness of former popes towards Pipin and Charlemagne; they recall to mind the indignities which Gregory IV. had brought on himself by his interference in Frankish affairs; they loudly blame the pope for meddling with politics, and for pretending to impose a sovereign on them; they wish him to keep to his own affairs, as his predecessors had done, and to defend them by his prayers and by the prayers of the clergy from the Normans and their other enemies; they declare that a bishop who utters unjust excommunications, instead of excluding the objects of them from eternal life, only forfeits his own power of binding.[a]

The pope was greatly incensed. He countenanced a rebellion raised against Charles by one of his sons, Carloman, who had been ordained a deacon; he forbade the French bishops to excommunicate the rebel prince when their sovereign required them to do so.[b] But Hincmar and his brethren, in despite of this, pronounced sentence of degradation and excommunication against Carloman,[c] who, on being taken, was condemned to death, but escaped with the loss of his eyes, and received the abbey of Epternach from the charity of Lewis the German.[d] And Adrian, after having committed himself by threats and denunciations in a style exaggerated from that of Nicolas, found himself obliged to let these acts of defiance pass without taking any further measures against those who were concerned in them.

V. A yet more remarkable collision arose out of the conduct of Hincmar, bishop of Laon. The archbishop of Reims had in 858 obtained the see of Laon for his

[a] Pp. 694-6.
[b] Hadr. Epp. 25-7; Planck, iii. 170.
[c] Hincm. ii. 353-4; Flodoard, iii. 18.
[d] Regino, Ann. 870 (Pertz, i. 583); Planck, iii. 173.

nephew and namesake, who is described as entirely dependent on him for the means of subsistence ;[e] but he soon found reason to repent of this step, which appears, from the younger Hincmar's character, to have been prompted by family or political considerations rather than by a regard for the benefit of the church.[f] The bishop of Laon received from Charles the Bald a distant abbey and an office at court. For these preferments he neglected his diocese ; he made himself odious both to clergy and to laity by his exactions ; and he treated his uncle's authority as metropolitan with contempt.[g] In consequence of a disagreement with the king, he was tried before a secular court in 868 ; he was deprived of his civil office, and the income of his see was confiscated.[h] On this occasion, the elder Hincmar, considering that the cause of the church was involved, forgot his private grounds for dissatisfaction with his kinsman's conduct, and came to the bishop's support. In a letter to Charles[i] (in which, among other authorities, he cites some of the forged decretals),[k] he declared that bishops were amenable to no other judgment than that of their own order ; that the trial of a bishop by a secular tribunal was contrary to the ancient laws of the church, to those of the Roman emperors, and to the example of the king's predecessors ; that it was a sign that the end of the world was at hand ; that royalty is dependent on the episcopal unction, and is forfeited by violation of the engagements contracted at receiving it.[l] At the diet of Pistres, in 868, the archbishop maintained his nephew's interest, and the

[e] Pagi, xiv. 210 ; Hard. v. 1306 ; Hist. Litt. v. 542.

[f] The nephew was probably under the canonical age (Hist. Litt. v. 522). Hincmar attempts to clear himself from a charge of nepotism (Opera, ii. 528). Baronius, in his dislike of the uncle, even ventures to justify the nephew, 871. 90-1 ; 878. 29.

[g] Hincm. ii. 393-5, 584, 597-8.

[h] Hincm. Annal. 868, p. 480.

[i] Opera, ii. 216-33.

[k] P. 227.

[l] Pp. 221-3.

younger Hincmar, on entreating the king's forgiveness, recovered the revenues of his see.[m]

But fresh disagreements very soon broke out between the kinsmen,[n] and the bishop of Laon involved himself in further troubles by the violence which he used in ejecting a nobleman who was one of the tenants of his church.[o] The king, after citing him to appear, and receiving a refusal, ordered him to be arrested; whereupon he took refuge in a church and placed himself beside the altar.[p] In April 869 he appeared before a synod at Verberie; but he declined its judgment, appealed to the pope, and desired leave to proceed to Rome for the prosecution of his appeal. The permission was refused, and he was committed to prison. Before setting out for Verberie, he had charged his clergy, in case of his detention, to suspend the performance of all divine offices, including even baptism, penance, the viaticum of the dying, and the rites of burial, until he should return, or the pope should release them from the injunction.[q] The clergy, in great perplexity and distress, now applied to the archbishop of Reims for direction in the matter. Hincmar by letter desired his nephew to recall the interdict; on his refusal, he cancelled it by his own authority as metropolitan, and produced ancient authorities to assure the clergy that, as their bishop's "excommunication" was irregular and groundless, they were not bound to obey it.[r]

About the time of Charles's coronation in Lotharingia, the bishop of Laon was set at liberty, his case being referred to a future synod. He forthwith renewed his assaults on his uncle, whom he denounced as the author of his late imprisonment;[s] he espoused the cause of the

[m] Hincm. Annal. 868, Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 67.
[n] Hincm. ii. 334.
[o] Ib. 601-3.
[p] Hincm. Annal. 869, p. 480.
[q] Hincm. ii. 510-14.
[r] Ib. 501, 507, 599; Hard. v. 1361, seqq., 1377.
[s] Gfrörer ii. 71.

rebel Carloman; and he sent forth a letter in which he asserted for all bishops a right of appealing to Rome—not against a sentence of their brethren (which was the only kind of appeal hitherto claimed), but in bar of the jurisdiction of local synods.[t] For this claim he alleged the authority of the forged decretals. The archbishop replied, not by denying the genuineness of these documents—which, however he may have suspected it,[u] he was not, after his own use of them, at liberty to impugn—but by maintaining that, as they had been issued on particular occasions, their application was limited to the circumstances which called them forth; that they were valid only in so far as they were agreeable to the ecclesiastical canons, and that some of them had been superseded by the determinations of councils later than their professed date.[x] Such a view of the decretals was evidently even more prejudicial to the new Roman claims than an assertion of their spuriousness would have been.

While Charles was engrossed by the affairs of Lotharingia, the case of the younger Hincmar was postponed. But he was brought before synods at Gondreville and Attigny in 870, and pamphlets were exchanged between him and his uncle—one, by the archbishop, extending to great length, and divided into fifty-five chapters.[y] At Attigny the bishop of Laon submitted to swear obedience to the authority of his sovereign and of his metropolitan; and, after having in vain renewed his request for leave to go to Rome, he asked for a trial by secular judges, who pronounced a decision in his favour.[z] The elder Hincmar was indignant, both because his nephew

[t] The letter is in Hincm. ii. 604.

[u] That he did so is clear from ii. 477.

[x] Opera, ii. 419, 451-2, 482; Giesel. II. i. 186-8.

[y] Opera, ii. 383-595.

[z] Ib. 410; Hincm. Annal 870, p. 487. On these matters, see De Marca, VII. 22, seqq.

had abandoned the clerical privileges in submitting to a lay tribunal, and on account of the result of the trial.

The bishop was again brought before a synod which met at Doucy, near Mousson, on the Maas,[a] in August 871, when fresh misdemeanours were laid to his charge—that he had made away with the property of his see, that he had sided with Carloman, had refused to sign the excommunication uttered against the rebel, and had slandered Charles to the pope. It was not until after the third summons that the accused condescended to appear.[b] He charged the king with having invaded his dignity; the archbishop of Reims with having caused his imprisonment: and on these grounds he refused to be judged by them. Charles repelled the charges against himself, and joined with the nobles who were present in swearing that the imputation against the archbishop was false.[c] In reply to his claim of a right to appeal to Rome, the bishop was reminded of the canons which ordered that every cause should be terminated in the country where it arose, and was told that he could not appeal until after a trial by the bishops of his own province. Notwithstanding his persistence in refusing to answer, the synod proceeded to examine the matter; and the elder Hincmar, after having collected the opinions of the members, pronounced sentence of deposition against his nephew, reserving only such a power of appeal as was sanctioned by the council of Sardica.[d] The synod then wrote to the pope, stating the grounds of their judgment, and expressing a hope that, in consideration of the bishop's incorrigible misconduct, he would confirm the sentence. They limit the right of appealing agreeably to the Sardican canon, and desire that, if the pope should entertain the

[a] A different place from Toucy, mentioned at p. 367. See Hefele, iv. 477.

[b] Hard. v 1301.

[c] Ib. 1308.

[d] Ib. 1311-17. For the Sardican canon, see vol. i. p. 433.

appeal which had been made to him, he would commit the further trial of the cause to bishops of their own neighbourhood, or would send envoys to sit with the local bishops for the purpose; and they beg that in any case he would not restore Hincmar to his see without a provincial inquiry, but would proceed according to the canons.[e]

Adrian replied in a very lofty tone. He censured the synod for having ventured to depose the accused without regard to his appeal, and charged them to send him to Rome, with some of their own number, in order to a fresh inquiry.[f] The answer of the Frankish bishops was firm and decided. They professed that they could only account for Adrian's letter by supposing that, in the multiplicity of his engagements, he had been unable to read the whole of the documents which they had sent to him; they justified their proceedings, and declared that, if the pope should persist in the course which he had indicated, they were resolved to stand on the rights of their national church.[g]

Adrian's letter to the synod had been accompanied by one in a like strain addressed to Charles, who was greatly provoked by it, and employed the elder Hincmar to reply. The archbishop executed his task with hearty zeal.[h] Charles, in whose name the letter was written, is made to tell the pope that the language which he had held was improper to be used towards a king, and unbecoming the modesty of a bishop, and desires him to content himself with writing as his predecessors had written to former sovereigns of France.[i] For a pope to speak of "ordering" a king is said to be a new and unexampled audacity.[k] It is denied that Adrian was entitled to evoke

[e] Hard. v. 1318-23.
[f] Ep. 28.
[g] Hard. v. 1318-20; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 85.
[h] Hincm. ii. 701, seqq.
[i] Pp. 702-4.
[k] Pp. 706-7

the case of the younger Hincmar to Rome for trial. The privileges of St. Peter depend on the exercise of justice; the king will not violate the principles of Scripture and of the church by interposing to defeat justice in a case where the offences of the accused are so many and so clear.[l] He declines with indignation the office which the pope would impose on him by desiring him to guard the property of the see of Laon; the kings of the Franks had hitherto been reckoned lords of the earth—not deputies[m] or bailiffs of bishops. He threatens, if the matter cannot be ended at home, to go to Rome and maintain the rightfulness of his proceedings.[n] The pope had spoken of decrees; but any decree which would affect to bind a sovereign must have been vomited forth from hell.[o] The letter concludes by declaring the king's willingness to abide by the known rules of Scripture, tradition, and the canons, while he is determined to reject "anything which may have been compiled or forged to the contrary by any person"—the plainest intimation that had as yet been given of Hincmar's opinion as to the Isidorian decretals.[p]

Adrian again felt that he had committed a mistake in advancing pretensions which were thus contested; and a league which had just been concluded between Lewis the German and his nephew the emperor contributed to alarm the pope as to the consequences which might follow from a breach with the king of Neustria.[q] He therefore wrote again to Charles, exchanging his imperious tone for one of soothing and flattery.[r] After some slight allusions to the style of the king's letter, he proceeds, (as he says) "to pour in the oil of consolation

[l] Pp 709-14.

[m] "Vicedomini." See p. 196.

[n] P. 715. Gfrörer (ii. 87) regards this as a threat of leading an army to Rome, but the context is against such an interpretation.

[o] P. 709.

[p] P. 716.

[q] Gfrörer, ii. 87.

[r] Ep. 33; Hard. v. 726.

and the ointment of holy love." He begs that he may not be held accountable for any expressions which might have seemed harsh in his former letters;[s] and, knowing the intensity of the king's desire for additional territory and power, he volunteers an assurance that, if he should live to see a vacancy in the empire, no other candidate than Charles shall with his consent be raised to it. The case of the bishop of Laon is treated as of inferior moment; the pope still desires that he may be sent to Rome, but promises that he shall not be restored unless a full inquiry shall have shown the justice of his cause, and that this inquiry shall be held in France.[t] Adrian did not live to receive an answer to this letter; and Hincmar the younger was kept in prison until, by taking part in fresh intrigues, he exposed himself to a severer punishment.[u]

Adrian's conduct in this affair had been alike imprudent and unfortunate. The French bishops had set aside the false decretals; they had insisted on confining the papal right as to appeals within the limits which had been defined by the council of Sardica; they had denied that the examination of all weightier causes belonged to the pope alone; they had denied that he had the right of evoking a cause to Rome before it had been submitted to the judgment of a national synod, and would only allow him the power of remitting it, after such judgment, to be again examined by the bishops of the country in which it arose; and his lofty pretensions had ended in a humiliating concession.[x] Yet the Roman see had gained something. Hincmar, in all his opposition to the papal claims, carefully mixes up professions of deep reverence for the authority of the apostolic chair; his objections to the Isidorian principles, being addressed to his nephew,

[s] Hard. v. 727.
[t] Ib. 720.
[u] Gfrörer, ii. 88-9.
[x] Planck, iii. 192-4.

were not likely to become much known at Rome, while, as he had not openly questioned the genuineness of the decretals, the popes might henceforth cite them with greater confidence; and a feeling that the power of the papacy was useful to the church restrained him in the midst of his opposition to it. Both bishops and princes now saw in the papacy something which they might use to their advantage; and the real benefit of all applications to Rome for aid was sure to redound to the Roman see itself.[y]

The circumstances of John VIII.'s election as the successor of Adrian are unknown; but he appears to have belonged to the Frankish party among the Roman clergy, and there is no reason to doubt that the emperor consented to his appointment.[z] In 875 the death of the emperor Lewis II. without issue opened up to Charles the Bald the great object of his ambition; and the time was now come for the pope to assume the power of disposing of the empire—an assumption countenanced by the fact that his predecessors had long acted as arbiters in the dissensions of the Carolingian princes.[a] Setting aside the stronger hereditary claims of Lewis the German, John invited Charles to Rome, and on Christmas-day—seventy-five years after the coronation of Charlemagne—placed the imperial crown on his head. Although the pope afterwards declared that this was done in obedience to a revelation which had been made to his predecessor Nicolas,[b] it would appear that influences of a less exalted kind had also contributed to the act. The annalist of Fulda, whose tone towards the "tyrant" of France is generally very bitter, tells us that, in order to obtain the empire, Charles had made a prodigal use of

A.D. 872.

[y] Planck, iii. 199-203.
[z] Gfrörer, ii. 90.
[a] Schröckh, xxii. 196-7.
[b] Hard. vi. 182.

bribery among the senators, "after the fashion of Jugurtha;"[c] nor did the pope himself fail to benefit on the occasion. A writer of later date[d] is undoubtedly wrong in saying that Charles ceded to him certain territories which are known to have then belonged to the Greek empire; but there is reason to believe that he gave up the control of elections to the papacy, released the pope from the duty of doing homage, and withdrew his resident commissioners from Rome, leaving the government in the hands of the pope, while the title of Defender still served to connect the emperor with the city, and entitled the Romans and their bishops to look to him for aid.[e]

Charles now professed that he owed the empire to John, and during the remainder of his days he was solicitous to serve the author of his dignity.[f] Proceeding northwards, he was crowned as king of Italy at Pavia, in February 876, when the estates declared that, as God, through the vicar of St. Peter and St. Paul, had called him to be emperor, so they *chose* him king.[g] The acts of Pavia were confirmed in an assembly held some months later at Pontyon, where the Neustrian clergy and nobles professed that they *chose* him for their sovereign, as he had been chosen by the pope and by the Lombards.[h] This change of title from a hereditary to an elective royalty appeared to hold out to the pope a hope of being able to interfere in the future disposal of the Neustrian and Italian

[c] Annal. Fuld. 875, ap. Pertz, i. 389. Cf. Regino, ib. 587-9.

[d] Eutropius Presbyter, ap. Goldast. de Monarchia, i. 10-11. By some he has been placed in the tenth century, but the best authorities refer him to the eleventh (see Schröckh, xxii. 194, seqq.; Planck, iii. 210). Even if the grant were genuine, it would have expired with Charles, as the German kings and emperors had no power to alienate the property of the crown beyond their own lifetime. Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 261.

[e] See the various views of De Marca, Pagi, and Mansi in Baron. xv. 278-81 also Schröckh, xxii. 194; Planck, iii. 218; Gfrörer, ii. 124-5.

[f] Schröckh, xxii. 198-201; Planck, iii. 218-19.

[g] Pertz, Leges, i. 529.

[h] Ib. 533.

kingdoms; but an attempt which was made in his behalf at Pontyon, although zealously supported by the emperor, met with a strenuous opposition from the Frankish clergy. The papal legate, John, bishop of Tusculum, read a letter by which Ansegis, archbishop of Sens, was constituted vicar apostolic and primate of Gaul and Germany, with power to assemble synods, to execute the papal orders by the agency of bishops, and to bring all important matters to Rome for decision.[1] Hincmar and his brethren requested leave to examine the document; to which the emperor replied by asking them whether they would obey the pope, and telling them that he, as the pope's vicar in the council, was resolved to enforce obedience. He ordered a chair to be set for Ansegis beside the legate; and at his invitation the archbishop of Sens walked past the metropolitans who had held precedence of him, and took his seat in the place of dignity. But Hincmar and the other bishops behaved with unshaken firmness. They repeated their request that they might be allowed to see the pope's letter, and to take a copy of it. They protested against the elevation of Ansegis as uncanonical —as infringing on the primacy granted to the see of Reims in the person of Remigius, and on the privileges bestowed on Hincmar by Benedict, Nicolas, and Adrian; nor could they be brought to promise obedience to the pope, except such as was agreeable to the canons, and to the example of their predecessors. One bishop only, Frotair, was disposed to comply, in the hope of obtaining a translation from the diocese of Bordeaux, which had been desolated by the Northmen, to that of Bourges;[k] but his brethren objected to the translation as contrary to the laws of the church.[l] The emperor, provoked by

[1] Joh. Ep. 134, ap. Hard. vi. 105. The dignity was to be personal, not attached to the see of Sens. Thomassin, I. i. 33-4.

[k] See p. 331.

[l] Hincm. ii. 732-5; Annal. 876, pp.

Hincmar's opposition, required him to take a new oath of fealty in the presence of the assembly, as if his loyalty were suspected—an unworthy return for the archbishop's long, able, and zealous exertions for the rights of the crown and of the national church.[m] The council broke up without coming to any satisfactory determination, and Hincmar soon after produced a strong defence[n] of the rights of metropolitans against the new principles on which the commission to Ansegis was grounded. Charles was induced by political reasons to act in a spirit of conciliation,[o] and the pope got over the difficulty as to Ansegis by conferring the primacy of Gaul on the see of Arles, to which it had been attached before the Frankish conquest. But amid the commotions of the time this arrangement had no practical effect.[p]

In the meantime the pope was greatly disquieted at home by the factions of his city, by the petty princes and nobles of the neighbourhood, and by the Saracens, who, since the death of Lewis II., carried on their ravages without any effectual check.[q] Sometimes the nobles made alliance with the enemies of Christendom. Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, and Sorrento, after having suffered much at their hands, entered into a league with them, and united with them in the work of devastation and plunder.[r] Sergius, duke of Naples, made frequent incursions into the papal territory, and John, after having in vain employed gentler means, uttered an anathema against him.[s] On this, the duke's brother, Athanasius, bishop of Naples, took on himself Nov. 877 the execution of the sentence, seized Sergius, put out his

499, seqq. ; Pertz, Leges, i. 533 ; Hard. vi. 166 ; Planck, iii. 233.

[m] Hincm. ii. 834 ; Hard. vi. 177.

[n] Opera, ii. 719, seqq.

[o] Gfrörer, ii. 130.

[p] Hard. vi. 30-2 ; De Marca, VI. xxix. 5 ; Planck, iii. 233-40.

[q] Baron. 876. 33 ; Milman, ii .322-6.

[r] Gfrörer, ii. 139. See Joh. VIII. Epp. 187-8, 279 (Patrol. cxxvi.).

[s] Chron. Casin. i. 40, ap. Pertz, vii

eyes, and sent him to the pope, who requited the bishop with a profusion of thanks and commendations, quoting the texts of Scripture which enjoin a preference of the Saviour over the dearest natural affections.[t] Athanasius now annexed the dukedom to his spiritual office. But he soon discovered that he was unable to cope with the Saracens, whereupon he allied himself with them, harassed the pope after the same fashion as his brother, and obliged John to buy him off with a large sum of money, in consideration of which he promised to break off his connexion with the infidels. But the promise was not fulfilled, and the pope, with a Roman synod, uttered an anathema against the duke-bishop.[u] Beset and continually annoyed as he was by such enemies, John implored the emperor to come to his assistance, and Charles was disposed to comply with the entreaty; but the unwillingness of the Frank chiefs to consent to such an expedition may be inferred from the heavy price which the emperor paid for their concurrence, by allowing the office of his counts to be converted into an hereditary dignity at the council of Quiercy in 887.[x] The pope, on being informed of his protector's approach, set out to meet him, and on the way held a council at Ravenna, where he passed some canons by which, in accordance with the pseudo-Isidorian principles, the power of bishops was exalted, while that of metropolitans was depressed.[y] He

A.D. 881

Aug. 877.

[t] Ep. 96 (Patrol. cxxvi.); Baron. 877. 3. The cardinal's justification of the pope for praising this "indecens episcopo factum" is curious. The predecessor of this Athanasius had been his uncle, of the same name, who had died in saintly reputation, A.D. 872. Acta SS., Jul. 15; Ughelli, vi. 70, seqq.

[u] Joh. VIII. Epp. 101-3, 187-8, 191; Erchempert ap. Pertz, iii. 254-5; Chron. Salern. ib. 536, seqq.; Baron. 881. 1-4. He afterwards absolved Athanasius, provided that he had separated from the infidels, and had taken or slain their chiefs, A.D. 881-2 (Ep. 352.) Athanasius is supposed by Muratori to have lived to the year 900. Annali, V. i. 325.

[x] C. 9. See above, p. 335.

[y] Hard. vi. 185, seqq.

met the emperor at Vercelli, and proceeded in his company to Tortona, where Richildis, the wife of Charles, was crowned as empress.[z] But the emperor, instead of prosecuting his expedition, retired before the advancing force of Carloman, the son and successor of Lewis the German; and he died in a hut on the pass of Mont Cenis.[a] The concessions which this prince had made both to Rome and to his nobles had greatly weakened the power of the Frankish crown, and the policy which he had lately followed in ecclesiastical affairs was very dangerous to the rights of the national church. Yet although, for the sake of his private objects, he had in his latter days behaved with much obsequiousness to the pope, it is clear that he had no intention of allowing the principles of the decretals to be established in their fulness within his dominions north of the Alps.[b]

After the death of Charles, the empire was vacant until 884. The pope, finding himself continually annoyed by Lambert, marquis of Spoleto, and other partisans of the German Carolingians,[c] declared his intention of seeking aid in France,[d] and, after some forcible detention, which he avenged by anathemas against Lambert and Adalbert of Tuscany,[e] he embarked on board ship, and landed at Genoa.[f] A.D. 878. The reception which he at first met with in France was not encouraging. He had offended the clergy by his attempts against the national church, and especially by the commission to Ansegis; while all classes were irritated on account of the costly and fruitless expedition which he had induced their late sovereign to undertake.[g] John wrote letters to all the Frankish princes,[h] urgently sum-

[z] Hincm. Annal. 877, p. 503.
[a] Ib. p. 504; Regino, p. 589.
[b] See Giesel. II. i. 207-8.
[c] Ep. ad Lud. Bav regis filium. Hard. vi. 27
[d] Ad Lud. Balbum, ib. 25.
[e] Ib. 29.
[f] Baron. 878. 14.
[g] Gfrörer, ii. 185.
[h] Hard. vi. 36, seqq.

moning them and their bishops to attend a council at Troyes; but the bishops of Gaul only appeared, and the only sovereign present was the king of France, Lewis the Stammerer, who was crowned anew by the pope, although, in consequence of an irregularity in his marriage, he was unable to obtain that the queen should be included in the coronation.[i] At Troyes, as at Ravenna, John proposed and passed some canons which raised the episcopal privileges to a height before unknown, and he dealt about anathemas with his usual profusion.[k] The bishops joined with him in condemning Adalbert, Lambert, and his other Italian enemies, and in return obtained from him a sentence against the invaders of their own property.[l] But they resolutely stood out for their national rights, insisting on the Sardican canon which limited the power of the Roman see as to appeals, and on those ancient laws of the church which forbade translations such as that of Frotair.[m] And when the pope produced a grant of Charles the Bald, bestowing the abbey of St. Denys on the Roman see, they met him with a positive denial that the king could alienate the possessions of the crown.[n]

Sept. 14.

John was greatly provoked by Hincmar's steady resistance to the pretensions of Rome; and some of the archbishop's enemies now took advantage of this feeling to annoy him by bringing forward his nephew, who, after having been imprisoned and banished, had at last been blinded by order of Charles on account of his connexion with an invasion from the side of Germany.[o] The unfortunate man was led into the place of assembly, and petitioned for a restoration to his see. But the pope,

[i] Hincm. Annal. pp. 506-7; Conc. Tricass. II. ap. Hard. vi. 191, seqq.

[k] See as to his fondness for this, Schmidt, i. 683 4; Milman, ii. 328.

[l] Hincm. Annal. pp. 506-7.

[m] Ib. 507.

[n] Ib. 508.

[o] Gfrörer, ii. 189.

besides that he may have been afraid to venture on a step so offensive to the metropolitan of Reims, was restrained by the circumstance that he had confirmed the deposition of the younger Hincmar, and had consecrated his successor, Hildenulf.[p] He therefore only in so far favoured the petition as to give the deposed bishop leave to sing mass, and to assign him a pension out of the revenues of Laon, while he refused to accept the resignation of Hildenulf, who alleged that his health disqualified him for the performance of his duties. The enemies of the elder Hincmar, however, were resolved to make the most of the matter as a triumph over him; they arrayed the blind man in episcopal robes, and, after having with great ceremony presented him to the pope, led him into the cathedral, where he bestowed his benediction on the people.[q] It does not appear what answer the pope obtained to his request for assistance; but it is certain that no assistance was sent.[r]

John had conceived the idea of carrying his claim to the power of bestowing the empire yet further by choosing a person whose elevation should be manifestly due to the papal favour alone—Boso, viceroy of Provence, who had gained his friendship on occasion of his visit to France. The project, however, was found impossible, nor was the pope more successful in an attempt to secure the kingdom of Italy for his candidate.[s] But, on the death of Lewis the Stammerer, Boso was chosen by a party of bishops and nobles as king of Provence, Oct. 879. which was then revived as a distinct sovereignty; and it would seem that a belief of the pope's support contributed to his election, although John soon after wrote to the archbishop of Vienne, reproving him for

[p] Schröckh, xxii. 190.
[q] Hincm. Annal. p. 508.
[r] Gfrörer, ii. 187.
[s] Murat. Ann. V. 1. 185-6; Sismondi, iii. 238-9.

having used the authority of Rome in behalf of Boso, whom the pope denounces as a disturber of the kingdom.[t] John died in December 882; it is said that some of his own relations administered poison to him, and, finding that it did not work speedily, knocked out his brains with a mallet.[u]

In the same month died the great champion of the Frankish church. Towards the end of his life Hincmar had had a serious dispute with Lewis III. as to the appointment of a bishop to Beauvais.[x] In answer to the king's profession of contempt for a subject who attempted to interfere with his honour, the archbishop used very strong language as to the relations of the episcopal and the royal powers. He tells him that bishops may ordain kings, but kings cannot consecrate bishops; and that the successors of the apostles must not be spoken of as subjects. "As the Lord said, 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you,' so may I say in my degree, 'You have not chosen me to the prelacy of the church, but I, with my colleagues and the other faithful ones of God, have chosen you to be governor of the kingdom, under the condition of duly keeping the laws.'"[y] Hincmar was at length compelled to leave his city by the approach of a devastating force of Northmen. He set out in a litter, carrying with him the relics of St. Remigius,[z] and died at Epernay, on the 21st of December. The Annals of St. Bertin, which are the most valuable record of the period, are supposed to have been written by him from the year 861 to within a month of his death.[a]

A.D. 882.

[t] Joh. Ep. 306 (Patrol. cxxvi.); Pertz, Leges, i. 547; Hefele, iv. 521.

[u] Annal. Fuld. A.D. 882; Milman, ii. 333.

[x] See his excommunication of the king's nominee, Opera, ii. 811.

[y] Ib. 198-9.

[z] Hincm. Annal. p. 515: Flodoard, iii. 30.

[a] Pertz, i. 420-1; Gfrörer, i. 243-4. For John's character, see Gregorov. iii. 223-5.

The first and second successors of John in the papacy, Marinus (A.D. 882) and Adrian III. (A.D. 884), appear to have been chosen without the imperial licence, and by means of the German interest.[b] On the death of Adrian, which took place as he was on his way to Germany in 885,[c] Stephen V. was consecrated without any application for the consent of the emperor, Charles the Fat; but Charles expressed great indignation at the omission, and had already taken measures for deposing the pope, when a Roman legate arrived at the imperial court, and succeeded in appeasing him by exhibiting a long list of bishops, clergy, and nobles who had shared in the election.[d]

Charles the Fat, a younger son of Lewis the German, had received the imperial crown from John VIII. in 881,[e] and, by the deaths of other princes, had gradually become master of the whole Carolingian empire. But his reign was disastrous; in 887 he was deposed by Arnulf, an illegitimate son of his brother Carloman; and, after having been supported for some months by alms, he died in the following year—whether of disease or by violence is uncertain.[f] The popular feeling as to this unfortunate prince, the last legitimate descendant of Charlemagne, may be inferred from the tone in which he is spoken of by the annalists of the time. They tenderly dwell on his virtues and amiable qualities; they express a trust that the sufferings which he patiently bore in this world may be found to have prepared his way to a better inheritance; it is even said that at his death heaven was seen to open, and to receive his soul.[g]

[b] Schröckh, xxii. 221-2; Gfrörer, ii. 252. On a story that Adrian obtained the removal of the imperial control in elections to the papacy, and an engagement that no one but an Italian should thenceforth be king of Italy, see Schröckh, 222; Gfrörer, ii. 271-2.

Annal. Fuld. 885, ap. Pertz, i. 402

[d] Ibid

[e] Herm. Contract. ap. Pertz, v. 108; Murat. Ann. V. i. 199-201.

[f] See Annal. Vedast. 887, ap. Pertz, i. 525; Pagi, in Baron. xv. 534; Mansi, ib.

[g] Annal. Fuld. ap. Pertz, i. 405; Annal. Vedast. ib 525; Regino, ib. 597-8.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREEK CHURCH.—PHOTIUS.

A.D. 842-898.

MICHAEL III., the son of Theophilus and Theodora, grew up under evil influences. His maternal uncle Bardas founded schemes of ambition on the corruption of the young prince's character. He removed one of the male guardians by death, and another by compelling him to retire into a monastery; and by means of a worthless tutor, as well as by his own discourse, he instilled into the emperor a jealous impatience of the control of his mother and sister.[a] At the age of eighteen Michael threw off this yoke. Theodora called together the senate, showed them the treasures which her economy had amassed,[b] in order that she might not be afterwards suspected of having left her son without ample provision, resigned her share in the regency, and withdrew from the palace.[c]

Michael now gave the loose to his depraved tastes and appetites. His chosen associates were athletes, charioteers, musicians, buffoons, and dancing-girls. He himself entered the lists in the public chariot races, and insisted on receiving his prizes from the hand of a consecrated image. He joined in the feasts and drinking bouts of his companions; he became sponsor for their children, and on such occasions bestowed lavish presents; he rewarded acts of disgusting buffoonery with costly gifts, and even encouraged his vile favourites to practise their gross and

[a] Schlosser, 555, 568-71.

[b] Constant. Porphyrog. v. 27. Mr. Finlay reckons them at 4,250,000*l.* ii. 203.

[c] Const. Porph. iv. 29; Cedrenus, 542-4.

brutal jests on his mother. The wealth which he had inherited was soon dissipated; and after having endeavoured to supply his necessities by plundering churches of their ornaments, he was reduced to melt down his plate, and even the golden tissues of the imperial robes.[d]

The most outrageous of Michael's extravagances was his profane mimicry of religion. He organized a mock hierarchy, of which one Theophilus, who was known by the name of Gryllus,[e] was the chief. Under this patriarch were twelve metropolitans, the emperor himself being one of the number. They went through a farcical ordination; they were arrayed in costly robes imitated from those of the church; they sang obscene songs to music composed in ridicule of the ecclesiastical chant; they burlesqued the trials, condemnations, and depositions of bishops; they had jewelled altar-vessels, with which they administered an eucharist of mustard and vinegar.[f] On one occasion this ribald crew encountered the venerable patriarch Ignatius at the head of a solemn procession, when Gryllus, who was mounted on an ass, rudely jostled him, and the attendant mummers twanged their harps in derision, insulted the patriarch with filthy language, and beat the clergy of his train.[g] After the death of their patron, some of the wretches who had shared in these abominations were called to account before the great council of 869, when they pleaded that they had acted through fear of the emperor, and expressed contrition for their offences.[h]

During the course of ages, a change had come over the characters which had formerly distinguished the Greek and the Latin churches respectively. Among the Greeks

[d] Const. Porph. iv. 21, v. 20-7; Cedren. 544, 552-4; Schlosser, 574-7.

[e] Γρύλλος, or γρῖλος, a sucking-pig.

[f] Conc. Cpol. IV. ap. Hard. v. 893, 906; Vita Ignatii, ib. 973; Const. Porph. iv. 38, v. 21; Cedren. 553-4.

[g] Const. Porph. iv. 38, v. 22; Cedren. 554.

[h] Hard. v. 893, 905-6.

the fondness for speculation had been succeeded by a settled formalism, while the rigidity of the Latins had yielded to the new life infused by the accession of the barbarian nations to the church.[i] But, although different from that of earlier times, a marked distinction still existed. The influence of Augustine, which had so largely moulded the western mind, and had given prominence to the doctrines of grace above all others, had not extended to the east. From the time of the Trullan council, the churches had been divided by a difference of usages, especially as to the marriage of the clergy; and, although the question as to the procession of the Holy Ghost had been laid to rest in the days of Charlemagne, it still remained as a doctrinal centre around which other causes of discord might array themselves. The see of Rome had gradually risen to a height far above its ancient rival; and while Constantinople could not but be dissatisfied with this change, there was on the Roman side a wish to make the superiority felt. Political jealousies also contributed to feed the smouldering ill-feeling, which any accident might fan into a flame.[k] And now a personal question produced a rupture which tended far towards the eventual separation of the churches.

Nicetas, a son of Michael Rhangabe, had, on his father's deposition, been thrust into a cloister at the age of fourteen.[l] He assumed the name of Ignatius, became a priest, and, having acquired a high character for piety, was in 846 promoted by Theodora to the see of Constantinople, on the recommendation of a famous hermit.[m] His predecessor, Methodius, had been engaged in dif-

Neand. vi. 293; Giesel. II. i. 139-40; Döllinger, i. 380.

[k] Schröckh, xxiv. 127; Neand. vi. 294.

[l] Vita Ignatii, by Nicetas David, in Hardouin, v. 945; Const. Porph. i. 10. On this part of the history there is much valuable information in some papers contributed to the British Magazine by the Rev. J. G. Dowling, but unfortunately left incomplete at his death.

[m] Vita, 949-53; Cedren 551; Pagi, xiv. 357.

ferences with Gregory, bishop of Syracuse, who, having been driven from his own diocese by the Saracens, usually lived at Constantinople, and the patriarch had uttered an anathema against the bishop. In Ignatius the feeling of religious antagonism could hardly fail to be stimulated by the fact that Gregory was a son of Leo the Armenian, by whom his own father, Michael, had been dethroned.[n] He refused Gregory's assistance at his consecration; in 851 he deposed and excommunicated him for having uncanonically ordained a person of another diocese; and at the patriarch's request the sentence was confirmed by a Roman synod under Benedict III.[o] The inhabitants of the capital were divided between Ignatius and Gregory; but, although the opposition to the patriarch was strong, he earned high and deserved credit by his conduct as a pastor.[p]

His conscientious zeal for the duties of his office induced him to remonstrate with Bardas on the subject of a scandalous imputation—that the minister, after having divorced his wife on some trivial pretext, lived in an incestuous intercourse with the widow of his son; and finding remonstrance ineffectual, the patriarch proceeded so far as to refuse the holy eucharist to him at Epiphany 857.[q] Bardas, whose influence over his nephew was continually increasing, resolved on vengeance. He persuaded Michael that, in order to the security of his power, it would be expedient to compel Theodora and her daughters to become nuns, and Ignatius was summoned to officiate at their profession. The patriarch refused, on the ground that it would be a violation of his duty

[n] Finlay, ii. 208.

[o] Vita Ign. 961; Nicol. Ep. vii. col. 139; Baron. 854. 7, and the notes; Dowling in Brit. Mag. xvii. 604-5. See, however, Hefele, iv. 222-4, who does not think that the pope went so far.

[p] Brit. Mag. xvii. 605.

[q] Const. Porph. iv. 30; G. Hamart. Contin. p. 735; Vita Ign. 956; Schröckh, xxiv. 129.

towards the empress and one of her daughters, who had been appointed regents by the will of Theophilus. On this Bardas accused him of treason, adding a charge of connexion with the interest of a crazy pretender to the throne, named Gebon ; and Ignatius was banished to the island of Terebinthus.[r]

Bardas resolved to fill the vacant throne with a man whose brilliant reputation might overpower the murmurs excited by the deprivation of Ignatius. Photius was a member of a distinguished Byzantine family, a great-nephew of the patriarch Tarasius, and connected with the imperial house by the marriage of his uncle to a sister of Theodora. He had lived in the enjoyment of wealth and splendour, had been ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad, and was now secretary of state and protospathary ;[s] and in the midst of his occupations he had acquired an amount of learning so far surpassing that of his contemporaries that his enemies even referred it to unhallowed sources.[t] He had been accustomed to carry on a part of his studies in company with his brother Tarasius, and, on taking leave of him when about to set out on the embassy to Bagdad, presented him with another companion, in the shape of a summary of books which Photius had read by himself.[u] This work—the *Myriobiblon* or

Ignat. Ep. ad Nicol. ap. Hard. v. 1013; Vita, ib. 956-7; Anastas. ad Hadrian. ib. 770; Pagi, xiv. 490; Schlosser, 606. Schlosser, Neander, and Mr. Finlay (ii. 207) place the affair as to Theodora before the quarrel with Bardas ; but I have followed Mr. Dowling, Brit. Mag. xvii. 606. (Hefele has the same order, iv. 219.)

[s] This title, which would naturally be rendered by "captain of the guards," had come to be honorary. See Smith's Dict. of Biography, iii. 348.

[t] Vita Ignat. 960; Const. Porph. iv. 22; Sym. Magister de Michaele, 31, 34; Cedren. 545; Tosti, Origine del Scisma Greco, i. 227-9 (Florence, 1856); Valetta, 23-4.

[u] Bibliotheca, p. 1, ed. Hoeschel, Rothomag. 1653. See Valetta, 21. Mr. Dowling (Brit. Mag. xvii. 267) exposes the mistake of Dupin (vii. 103) and Gibbon (v. 267), who suppose the work to have been written during the embassy, and marvel how Photius could, in such circumstances, have procured the books. But the story told by Photius himself — that he hastily dictated the 'Bibliotheca' to an amanuensis amidst the bustle of

Bibliotheca—contains notices of two hundred and eighty books in classical and ecclesiastical literature, with summaries of the contents, abridgments, extracts, and comments; and, in addition to its value as a treasury of much which would otherwise have perished, it is remarkable in the history of literature as the prototype of our modern critical reviews.[x] Among his other writings are a Dictionary; a book of discussions on questions from Scripture; a considerable number of letters; and a collection of ecclesiastical laws.[y]

With the exception of such information as may be gathered from his own works, our knowledge of Photius comes almost exclusively from his adversaries.[z] The enmity of these in his own time was bitter; and his name has since been pursued by writers in the papal interest with a rancour which can perhaps only be paralleled by their treatment of the protestant reformers. The biographer of Ignatius tells us that the intruding patriarch took part in Michael's drinking bouts, and made no scruple of associating with Gryllus and his gang;[a] and another Greek writer states that on one occasion, when the emperor was overcome by fifty cups, Photius swallowed sixty without any appearance of intoxication.[b]

preparation for his departure—taxes our belief very severely. It seems more probable that the notes were before made, and only required arrangement: or perhaps the whole account of the origin of the book may be merely an example of a common literary artifice.

[x] Schröckh, xxi. 196; Fabric. Bibl. Gr. x. 679.

[y] Schröckh, xxi. 196-8. The first attempt at a collected edition of Photius' works is that in Migne's Patrol. Gr. ci.-civ. In this the letters are rearranged, with additions to those published by Bp. Mountagu (London, 1651). [A new edition of the letters, with a Greek introduction and notes, zealously defending Photius against the attacks of Romanists, has been published by Mr. Valetta, London, 1864. Of this I have read little more than the Introduction, and my references in general apply to the old edition. A vast Life of Photius, in the Roman interest, by Prof. Hergenröther, of Würzburg, has lately appeared, but I cannot pretend to much acquaintance with it.]

[z] Dowling in B. M. xvii. 9.

[a] Hard. v. 976.

[b] Sym. Magist. 19.

The second of these charges, however, is accompanied by fables so gross as altogether to destroy the credit of the author's evidence against Photius;[c] and such tales are utterly inconsistent with the admission of his enemies, that he had succeeded (although, as they think, undeservedly) in gaining a character for sanctity.[d] Nor was his orthodoxy as yet impeached, although he was afterwards called in question for having taught that man has a reasonable and also a spiritual soul—an opinion countenanced by the authority of many among the earlier fathers.[e] Like Ignatius, he was a supporter of the cause of images, for which he states that his parents had suffered in the times of persecution.[f]

Attempts were made to induce Ignatius to resign his dignity; but, as such a step would have involved an acknowledgment of guilt, he steadfastly withstood both entreaties and severities.[g] At length, however, he was drawn into something which the court could regard as a compliance; and Photius, after having been ordained by

[c] *E.g.*, cc. 29, 30, 33, 34, 36. See Dowling, xvii. 261.

[d] This is admitted in the encyclical letter of the council which condemned him (Hard. v. 1108). See Dowling, xvii. 607.

[e] Sym. Mag. 38; Anast. Bibl. in Patrol. cxxix. 14; Schlosser, 608; Neander, vi. 301. It was condemned by the council of 869-70. (Can. 10 in the Greek, or 11 in the Latin.) Hard. v. 903, 1101.

[f] It has been said that he speaks of his parents as having been martyrs for the sake of images; but this seems to have arisen from a confusion of two passages, in one of which he speaks of their sufferings in that cause (Ep. 113), while in the other he says that they died early, and were adorned with "the martyr's crown of patience" (Ep. 234, p. 349). There is a remarkable letter (64) in which he answers an objection made by the iconomachists of his time—that since every nation had a different representation of the Saviour, there could be no genuine one. Photius replies that it might as well be argued from the variety of translations that there was no original Gospel; or, from the different representations of the cross, that there was no true cross; or from ritual and liturgical varieties an objection might be taken to the eucharist altogether; or, as every nation supposed the Saviour to have been incarnate in its own likeness, the story of the incarnation might be rejected. Thus, as Neander remarks (vi. 288), he did not believe in the existence of any authentic original likeness, but regarded the unity of ideal which lay under the various representations.

[g] Vita, 957; Schlosser, 594.

Gregory of Syracuse through all the degrees of the ministry on six successive days, was enthroned as patriarch on Christmas-day.[h] He repeatedly declares, even in letters to Bardas himself, that the promotion was forced on him, and tells the pope that he had allowed himself to be imprisoned before he would accept it.[i] Nor need we suppose his reluctance insincere; for even an ambitious man (as Photius certainly was) might well have hesitated to encounter the difficulties of a position which was to be held to the exclusion of such a prelate as Ignatius, and by the favour of such patrons as Bardas and Michael; while, in mitigation of the unseemliness of intruding into the place of a patriarch who was still alive, and whose resignation was only constructive, it is to be considered that Photius had belonged to the party of Gregory, and therefore could have had little personal scruple as to the rights of Ignatius.[k]

It is said that he was required by the metropolitans of his patriarchate to swear that he would honour the deprived patriarch as a father,[l] and that he obtained from Bardas a promise that Ignatius should be kindly treated.[m] But he very soon had the mortification of finding that this promise was disregarded. Ignatius, in the hope of forcing him to a more explicit resignation, was exposed to cold and nakedness, was scourged, chained in a gloomy dungeon, and deprived of the consolation which he might have received from the visits of his friends, while many of his partisans were beaten, imprisoned, and mutilated with the usual Byzantine cruelty;[n] and Photius had to bear the odium of outrages committed in violation of the

[h] Vita Ign. 961; Dowling, xvii. 606.

[i] Epp. 3, 6, ad Bardam; Ep. ad Nicol. ap. Baron. 861. 36 (= Ep. 2, ed. Migne); Hard. vi. 253 See Schröckh, xxi. 194; Dowling, xvii. 609.

[k] See Schröckh, xxiv. 132; Fleury, l. 3; Neand. vi. 302; Dowling, xvii. 609.

[l] Vita Ign. 961.

[m] Brit. Mag. xvii. 609.

[n] Ign. ad Nicol. ap. Hard. v. 1013; Vita, ib. 964.

pledge which he had required, and in contempt of his earnest remonstrances and entreaties.[o]

The adherents of Ignatius were zealous and resolute. They held a synod, at which Photius was excommunicated; whereupon the patriarch, who appears from the bitterness of his letters to have been a man of very irritable temper, retaliated by assembling another synod, and uttering a like sentence against Ignatius.[p] In order to strengthen his position, he now sent a notice of his consecration to Rome, with a request that the pope would depute legates to a council which was to be held at Constantinople for the suppression of the iconoclast party, which had again attempted to make head. His letter was accompanied by one from the emperor, with splendid gifts to the apostolic see. The application for aid against the iconoclasts appears to have been merely a pretext[q]—the real object being to draw the pope into the interest of Photius. In the meantime renewed attempts were made to obtain the resignation of Ignatius, at first by an increase of severity against him and his party, and afterwards by allowing him to return to Constantinople, and offering the restoration of his property.[r]

A.D. 859.

Nicolas, who had just been raised to the papal chair, was no doubt better informed as to the late events at Constantinople than the patriarch or the emperor imagined;[s] he saw in their application to him an oppor-

[o] Phot. Epp. 3, 6, ad Bardam.

[p] Vita Ign. 964. The acts are lost, but the sentence was probably rested on the ground of uncanonical election and of political offences. Schlosser, 603; Dowling, xviii. 243-6.

[q] The biographer of Ignatius speaks of it as such (964). Symeon Magister (45) relates that the tombs of Constantine Copronymus and John the Grammarian were violated, and that their bodies were burnt, by Michael's orders. Cf. G. Hamart. Contin. p. 746.

[r] Vita, 964; Schlosser, 603-4. Mr. Dowling thinks that, as Ignatius was already deposed, the renewed severities were not meant to extort a resignation, but the withdrawal of his protest against Photius (Brit. Mag. xviii. 243). But it seems more likely that the resignation was desired in order that the opposite party might be cleared elsewhere.

[s] Milman, ii. 280.

tunity of extending his influence, and affected to regard it as a reference of the case to his decision. He wrote to the emperor in the style of an independent sovereign, and, as a hint of the price which he set on his co-operation,[t] he insisted on the restoration of the provinces which had been withdrawn from his jurisdiction, and of the patrimony of the church in Calabria and Sicily.[u] He expressed surprise that the case of Ignatius should have been decided without the concurrence of Rome, and on evidence of a kind which was forbidden by the laws of the church;[x] nor did he fail to remark on the inconsistency, that, while Photius represented his predecessor as having resigned from age and infirmity,[y] the emperor spoke of him as having been deposed. Two bishops, Rodoald of Portus and Zacharias of Anagni, were sent to Constantinople as legates, with instructions to inquire into the matter, and not to admit Photius to communion except as a layman.[z] They were charged with a short letter to the patriarch, in which the pope remarked on his hasty ordination, but told him that, if the legates should make a favourable report, he would gladly own him as a brother.[a] A.D. 860.

Michael, provoked by the tone of the pope's reply, received the legates with dishonour. They were detained at Constantinople for months, and were plied with threats and with bribery, which did not fail of their effect.[b] At length a synod, styled by the Greeks "the First and Second,"[c] and consisting, like the Nicene council, of

[t] Dowling, xviii. 373.

[u] Ep. 2, ap. Hard. v. 339.

[x] The pope's objections might seem to be founded on the false decretals; but, as we have seen, it would appear that he was as yet (A.D. 860) unacquainted with these, except by the hint in a letter of Servatus Lupus (p. 394); and the quotations which he makes are from the genuine letters of Cœlestine and other popes later than Siricius.

[y] Vita Ign. 964.

[z] Nic. Ep. 1.

[a] Ep. 3.

[b] Nic. Ep. 10.

[c] One explanation of the name is, that, having been obliged by an outbreak of the iconoclasts to break off its sessions, it afterwards resumed them.

three hundred and eighteen bishops, met in 861. By this assembly Photius was acknowledged as patriarch. The letter from the pope was read, but with the omission of such parts as were likely to give offence [d]—whether it were that the legates had consented to the suppression, or that advantage was taken of their ignorance of Greek. Ignatius was brought before the assembly, and was required to subscribe his own condemnation. He behaved with inflexible spirit, desired the legates to remove the "adulterer," if they wished to appear as judges, and told them to their faces that they had been bribed.[e] Seventy-two witnesses—a few of them senators and patricians, but for the most part persons of low condition, farriers, ostlers, needle-makers, and the like, while some are described as heretics [f]—were brought forward to sign a paper asserting that he had been promoted by imperial favour, and without canonical election.[g] He was stripped of the patriarchal robes, in which, as the matter was left to his own judgment, he had thought it his duty to appear;[h] he was beaten, and at last, when exhausted by ill treatment for more than a fortnight, was made, by forcibly holding his hand, to sign with a cross a confession that he had obtained his office irregularly and had administered it tyrannically.[i] It was then announced to him that he must read this document publicly at Whitsuntide, and threats of losing his eyes and his hands were uttered; but he contrived to escape in the disguise of a slave, and found a refuge among the monks of the islands from the search

(Zonaras, ap. Hard. v. 1196; Schröckh, xxiv. 136.) Mr. Dowling prefers the explanation proposed by Hody, that, having been employed on two distinct subjects—the iconoclastic question, and that between Photius and Ignatius—its proceedings were recorded in two separate tomes. xviii. 376. Cf. Hefele, iv. 230.

[d] Anastas. ap. Hard. v. 751; Schlosser, 606; Dowling, xviii. 374.

[e] Hard. v. 1016; Vita, 965.

[f] Ibid. 965; Hard. v. 891, 1096.

[g] His biographer says that he had been duly chosen by the people and the bishops, and that the charge might more fitly have been brought against Photius. 968.

[h] Vita, 965.

[i] Ib. 969.

which Bardas caused to be made for him.[k] An earthquake was interpreted as a witness from heaven in his favour, while Photius, by offering another explanation of it, drew on himself a charge of impiety.[l] Bardas, in deference to the general feeling, now permitted the deposed patriarch to return to a monastery in the capital,[m] while Michael jested on the state of affairs by saying that Gryllus was his own patriarch, Ignatius the patriarch of the Christians, and Photius the patriarch of Bardas.[n]

The acts of the council were sent to Nicolas, with a request from the emperor that he would confirm them, and at the same time Photius addressed to the pope a letter which, by the skill displayed in its composition, has extorted the unwilling admiration of Baronius.[o] He professes to deplore in a pathetic strain the elevation which he represents as having been forced on him; the pope, he says, ought rather to pity than to blame him for having exchanged a life of peace, content, and general esteem, for a post of danger, anxiety, unpopularity, and envy.[p] As for the ecclesiastical laws which Nicolas had spoken of in his letters, they were not known at Constantinople.[q] The rule which forbade such ordinations as his was not binding, inasmuch as it had not been sanctioned by a general council; he defends his ordination by the parallel cases of his predecessors Nicephorus and Tarasius, who had been promoted from among the laity, and by the stronger cases of Ambrose in the west and of Nectarius in the east, who had been chosen to the episcopate while yet unbaptized.[r] He had, he says, sanctioned

[k] Vita, 672; Schlosser, 607.

[l] Vita, 972; Sym. Mag. de Mich. 35; Schlosser, 608.

[m] Vita, 972.

[n] Ib. 973.

[o] 861. 33, 55. He gives it in a translation. 34-54. The Greek is not in Mountagu's edition, but is Ep. 2 in Migne's (Patrol. Gr. cii.) and Ep. 1 in Valetta's.

[p] Baron. 861. 36-9.

[q] This need not imply that the false decretals are meant, but only that the laws in question were western.

[r] §§ 42-7.

in the late synod a canon against the elevation of a layman to a bishoprick except by regular degrees; and he expresses a wish that the church of Constantinople had before observed the rule, as in that case he would have escaped the troubles which had come on him.[s] The patriarch's tone throughout, although respectful, is that of an equal. In conclusion he reflects with bitter irony on the morals of the Romans, and prays that Rome may no longer continue to be a harbour for worthless persons such as those whom it had lately received without letters of communion—adulterers, thieves, drunkards, oppressors, murderers, and votaries of all uncleanness, who had run away from Constantinople in fear of punishment for their vices.[t] By this description were intended the refugees of the Ignatian party.

But the Ignatians had also conveyed to the pope their version of the late events, and Nicolas wrote in a lofty strain both to the emperor and the patriarch.[u] The Roman church, he says, is the head of all, and on it all depend.[x] He sets aside the parallels which Photius had alleged for his consecration, on the ground that the persons in question had not intruded into the room of wrongfully ejected orthodox bishops,[y] and tells Photius that, if he did not know the laws of the church, it was because they made against his cause.[z] At a synod held in 863, the pope deposed and excommunicated Zacharias for misconduct in his legation, reserving the case of Rodoald, who was then employed on a mission in France;[a] he declared Photius to be deprived of all spiritual office and dignity, and threatened that in case of his disobedience, he should be excommunicated without

[s] §§ 48-9.
[t] § 54.
[u] Epp. 5-6.
[x] Hard. v. 133.
[y] Ib. 130-1, 133, 135.
[z] Ib. 135.
[a] Ib. 137. Ep. 7. See p. 373.

hope of restoration until on his death-bed; he annulled all orders conferred by him, and threatened his consecrators and abettors with excommunication. All proceedings against Ignatius were declared to be void, and it was required that he should be acknowledged as patriarch. The pope embodied the resolutions of this council in a letter to the emperor;[b] and he desired the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem to make it known that the Roman church in no way consented to the usurpation of Photius.[c]

Michael replied in violent indignation, that by his application to the pope he had not intended to acknowledge him as a judge, or to imply that his own clergy were not sufficient for the decision of the case; he scoffed at Rome as antiquated, and at the Latin language as a barbarous jargon.[d] Nicolas, who was elated by his recent triumph over Lothair, met the emperor with no less haughtiness.[e] He taxes him with disrespect towards God's priests, and, as Michael had spoken of having "ordered" him to send legates to the council, he tells him that such language is not to be used to the successors of St. Peter.[f] To the reflections on the Latin tongue, he answers that such words, uttered in the "excess of madness," were injurious to Him who made all languages, and were ridiculous as coming from one who styled himself emperor of the Romans.[g] He insists at great length on the privileges of the Roman see, derived not from councils, but from the chief of the apostles.[h] He

[b] Ep. 7.

[c] Ib. 4.

[d] Nicol. ap. Hard. v. 161. The emperor's own letter is lost.

[e] Epp. 8, 9 (May, 865; Nov. 866).

[f] Hard. v. 147-8.

[g] Ib. 148-9.

[h] Ib. 162-3. In one of the letters to Michael (Ep. 8, col. 159), the ninth canon of Chalcedon, which in earlier times had been regarded as an offence against Rome, is, by an extraordinary interpretation, pressed into the Roman interest. The canon had directed that a bishop or a clerk, having a complaint against his metropolitan, should apply to the primate (ἔξαρχον) of the diocese or to the see of Constantinople. The appeal to the primate, says Nicolas, is the rule; the recourse to Constantinople

utters many threats against all who shall take part against Ignatius.[i] He proposes that the rival patriarchs, or their representatives, should appear at Rome for a trial of the cause.[k] He warns the emperor to abstain from interfering with spiritual things,[l] and desires him to burn his late letter, threatening that otherwise he will himself suspend it to a stake, and, to the disgrace of the writer, will burn it in the sight of all the nations which are at Rome ;[m] and he invokes curses on the person who is to read his letters to the emperor, if he should in any respect mutilate or mistranslate them.[n] He sent the acts of the Roman council to the clergy of Constantinople, with a long detail of the affair ;[o] and at the same time he wrote to Photius, Ignatius, Bardas, Theodora, and the empress Eudoxia.

Nov. 866.

Michael, provoked by the opposition of Nicolas and by the manner in which it was carried on, looked out for some means of annoying the pope. Although Charlemagne's imperial title had been acknowledged at Constantinople, it was as emperor of the Franks, not of Rome ; and his successors had not obtained from the east any higher title than that of king.[p] Michael now offered to recognize Lewis II. as emperor, on condition of his acknowledging the council which was so offensive to the pope ; and Lewis appeared willing to accept the terms.[q] But events soon occurred which rendered this negotiation abortive.

A new question arose to complicate the differences

is only allowed as secondary. And by the primate of the diocese the council could mean no other than the vicar of the chief apostle: "ipse est enim primas, qui et primus habetur et summus." Gieseler, after quoting the passage (II. i. 371), very reasonably adds "(!!)." Nicolas had already turned this canon to use in a somewhat different way. Ep. ad Car. Calv. ap Hard. v. 585.

[i] Ib. 182-4, 192-3.
[k] Ib. 168.
[l] Ib. 171.
[m] Ib. 193.
[n] Ib. 172.
[o] Ep. 10.
[p] Ῥήξ, not Βασιλεύς. See Pagi, xiii. 65 ; Gibbon, iv. 510.
[q] Vita Ign. 981 ; Schlosser, 614-15.

between the Greek and the Latin churches. The Bulgarians, who are supposed to have been a people of Asiatic origin, of the same stock with the Huns, and at one time seated near the sea of Azov, had about the year 680 occupied a territory in Mœsia and Dardania, where, in consequence of intermarriages with the native Slaves, they had gradually exchanged their original language for a dialect of the Slavonic.[r] They had been engaged in continual hostilities with the Byzantine empire; Nicephorus had lost his life in war with them, and they had endangered the throne of Michael Rhangabe. In the early part of the ninth century, Christianity had been introduced among them by some captives, but with little effect. During the regency of Theodora, however, circumstances occurred which gave a new impulse to the progress of the Gospel among the Bulgarians. A monk named Cupharas, in whom the empress took an interest, fell into the hands of their prince, Bogoris; and the empress proposed that he should be exchanged for a sister of Bogoris, who was then a captive at Constantinople. The Bulgarian princess, who had been converted to the gospel during her captivity, zealously attempted, after returning to her own country, to carry on the work which Cupharas had begun. Bogoris himself held out, until, during a famine, after having in vain addressed himself to other deities, he had recourse to the God of the Christians; but the success of his prayer resulted in his conversion; and he was baptized by the patriarch of Constantinople, changing his name for that of the emperor Michael, who by proxy acted as his godfather.[s] The convert requested Michael

[r] See Schröckh, xxi. 399; Gibbon, v. 290-1 Gfrörer, Karol. i. 430; Thierry, Hist. d'Attila, i. 304.

[s] Const. Porph. iv. 14; Cedrenus, 39-40. The date of the baptism is variously given—from 845 to 864; but the later time appears to be the more correct. Pagi (xv. 53) and Gieseler (II. i. 372) place it in 861. See Schröckh, xxi. 404. According to

to supply him with a painter for the decoration of his palace; and a monk named Methodius (for art was then confined to the monasteries) was sent into Bulgaria. Bogoris employed him to paint a hall with subjects of a terrible character, intending that these should be taken from the perils of hunting; whereupon the monk depicted the Last Judgment, as being the most terrible of all scenes. The representation of hell, which was explained as setting forth the future lot of the heathen, alarmed the prince into abandoning the idols which he had until then retained; and many of his subjects were moved by the sight of the picture to seek admission into the church.[t] A rebellion, which soon after broke out in consequence of the prince's conversion, was put down by him with a cruelty which accorded ill with his new profession.[u]

Photius was probably the patriarch who had gone into Bulgaria for the baptism of Bogoris; and he had addressed to him a long letter, or rather a treatise,[x] on Christian doctrine and practice, and particularly on the duties of a sovereign. But soon after this we find that the Bulgarian prince made an application to Nicolas, accompanied by valuable presents, for the purpose of obtaining the pope's counsel and assistance towards the conversion of his people.[y] It would seem that he had been perplexed between the claims of rival forms of Christianity—Greek, Roman, and Armenian;[z] and he may very naturally have wished for some instruction better adapted to the

another account, Bogoris invaded the empire, and, having been reduced to straits, offered to become Christian as a condition of peace. (Schlosser, 629.) Andrew of Bergamo, a barbarous chronicler of the time, represents him as having gone to Rome, and there been baptized by Nicolas (Patrol. cli. 1274). But this, as Mr. Gregorovius remarks (iii. 146), is inconsistent with other accounts, and the circumstance, if true, would surely have been recorded by Anastasius.

[t] Const. Porph. iv. 15; Cedren. 540-1.

[u] Nicol. Resp. ad Consulta Bulgar. c. 17, ap. Hard. v.

[x] Phot. Ep. 1.

[y] Anastas. 260.

[z] Nic. Resp. c. 10 ?.

state of his knowledge than the somewhat too refined treatise which he had received from the patriarch of Constantinople.[a] But in addition to this, it is most likely that Bogoris was actuated by a jealous dread of the empire which bordered so closely on him, and by an apprehension of the consequences which might result from a religious connexion with his ancient enemies.[b] Nicolas replied by sending into Bulgaria two bishops, Paul of Populonia and Formosus of Portus, with a letter in which the questions proposed to him were answered under 106 heads.[c] This document, while it displays the usual lofty pretensions of Rome, is in other respects highly creditable to the good sense and to the Christian feeling of the writer. He sets aside many frivolous questions, and answers others with a wise treatment of their indifference, and with care to abstain from laying down minutely rigid rules. He rebukes the harshness which had been shown to a Greek who had pretended to the character of a priest;[d] he censures the king for the cruelty which he had used in the suppression of the late rebellion, but tells him that, as he had acted in zeal for the faith, and had erred rather from ignorance than from wickedness, he may hope for forgiveness if he repent;[e] and he exhorts him to refrain from the use of force against those who continue in their idolatry—to hold no communion with them indeed, but to deal with them by the weapons of reason only.[f] He advises that torture should no longer be used to discover the guilt of criminals,[g] and that such persons should be treated with a gentleness becoming the faith which the Bulgarians had adopted.[h] The cross is to be substituted for the

[a] Neand. v. 424. Mr. Valetta disbelieves this story, and thinks that Nicolas interfered of his own motion, 49

[b] Schröckh, xxiv. 149-51.

[c] Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum, Hard. 353-86. (August, 866.)

[d] Cc. 14-16. [e] C. 17.

[f] Cc. 41, 102. [g] C. 86.

[h] Cc. 19-32.

horse's tail, which had hitherto been the national standard.[1] Idolatrous practices, charms, and arts of divination are to be forsaken.[k] Those who, as heathens, had married two wives must put away the second, and do penance—polygamy being no less contrary to the original condition of man than to the law of Christ.[l] In answer to the request that a patriarch might be appointed for the country, the pope says that he must wait for the report of his envoys as to the number of Christians; in the meantime he sends a bishop, and undertakes to send more if required; and he promises that, when the church is organized, one with the title of archbishop, if not of patriarch, shall be placed at its head.[m] There are, he says, properly only three patriarchal sees—those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, although so styled, being of inferior honour, because they were not of apostolical foundation;[n] and he concludes by exhorting the Bulgarians, amidst the claims of conflicting teachers, to cleave to the Holy Roman church, which had always been without spot or wrinkle.[o]

Bogoris had also applied to Lewis of Germany, who sent him a bishop; but it is said that this bishop, on arriving in Bulgaria, found the country sufficiently provided with clergy from Rome, and returned home without having attempted to aid or to disturb their labours.[p]

But at Constantinople the pope's intervention aroused

[1] C. 33.
[k] Cc. 35, 62, 67, 77, 79.
[l] C. 37.
[m] C. 72.
[n] Cc. 92-3.
[o] C. 106. See Ffoulkes, ii. 11.
[p] Annal. Fuld. 867, ap. Pertz, i. 380. The western writers in general speak as if the conversion of Bulgaria had been entirely the work of the Latin church (Schröckh, xxiv. 149-51). Regino (Ann. 868, ap. Pertz, i. 580) relates that the king, after having for a time combined the strictest asceticism in private with the outward pomp of royalty, withdrew into a monastery; that his son, who succeeded to the throne, gave himself up to profligacy, and attempted to restore paganism; that the old king thereupon left his retreat, made war on his son, blinded and imprisoned him, and bestowed the crown on a younger son, whom he threatened to treat in the same manner if he should not be faithful to his duty. He then returned to his cloister

great indignation. Whereas Nicolas claimed Bulgaria on the ground that it had belonged to the Roman jurisdiction while it was a province of the empire—that the people had voluntarily placed themselves under him, and that he had provided them with churches and clergy—Photius strenuously insisted on his own right as derived from the conversion of the nation.[q] The patriarch summoned a council to meet at Constantinople, and, in a letter addressed to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem,[r] denounced the invasion of Bulgaria. Within the last two years, he says, men from the west, the region of darkness, had intruded A.D. 867. into this portion of his fold, corrupting the gospel with pernicious novelties.[s] They taught a difference of usages as to fasting; they forbade the clergy to marry; they denied the right of presbyters to confirm; and their bishops, in opposition to apostles, fathers, and councils, administered a second unction to persons who had already been confirmed according to the Greek rite.[t] But above all, they adulterated the creed with spurious additions, affirming that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Photius reprobates this doctrine with all his force, as a denial of the unity of principle in the Godhead, unheard of by Athanasius, Gregory, and Basil—as a blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or rather against the whole Trinity, such as cannot be exceeded, and is deserving of ten thousand anathemas.[u] He denounces the Romans as apostate and servants of Antichrist;[x]

[q] Schröckh, xxiv. 154.

[r] Ep. 2. See Ffoulkes, 'Christendom's Divisions,' ii. 4. Baronius is very abusive in his comments on this epistle, some of which rest on the assumption that Photius was an eunuch (*e.g.*, 867. 67; 868. 45)—which Pagi (xv. 149) and Fabricius (xi. 671-2) show to be untrue, although Dom Tosti still adheres to it, and traces the patriarch's jealousy, ambition, etc., to this supposed defect, i. 29.

[s] P. 49. [t] P. 50.

[u] Pp. 50, 52-3, 56-7. A treatise by Photius, 'De Spiritus Sancti Mystagogia,' was published by Prof. Hergenröther at Ratisbon, 1857, and is reprinted in the Patrol. Gr. cii.

[x] P. 55.

and he invites the oriental patriarchs to send envoys to Constantinople for the purpose of combining with him in resistance to them.[y] Although Photius had great reason to complain both of the interference with his converts, and of the manner in which the pope had depreciated his dignity, and had set aside all but the Roman customs, he appears to be open to the charge of swelling his personal quarrel with Rome into a schism between the churches;[z] and the tone in which he now enlarged on the difference of usages was very unlike that in which he had some years before adverted to them in his elaborate letter to Nicolas.[a] The synod summoned by Photius was held in 867. It replied to the Roman anathemas by pronouncing a like sentence against Nicolas himself; and the patriarch, in the hope of drawing the western emperor into his interest, contrived that acclamations in honour of Lewis II. and Ingilberga should be mixed with those in honour of the Byzantine rulers.[b]

In the meantime important political changes were in progress. Bardas had gradually acquired a more and more complete ascendency over his nephew, while the emperor sank continually deeper into degrading pleasures.[c] In 862 Bardas was advanced to the dignity of Cæsar; and, although his rule was oppressive and unpopular, it is acknowledged that he exhibited much talent for government,[d] and that he exerted himself for the revival of learning, which had long been neglected at Constantinople.[e] But in no long time his influence was disturbed by that of a rival, Basil the Macedonian. Basil,

[y] P. 57.

[z] Schröckh, xxiv. 160.

[a] Phot. Ep. 2, ed. Migne; cr in Baron. 861. 42-4.

[b] Schröckh, xx. 153; Hefele, iv. 342-3.

[c] Cedren. 547. I can see no ground for Mr. Valetta's opinion (136-7) that Michael reformed his life under the influence of Photius.

[d] Vita Ign. 955; Cedren. 550-1; Finlay, ii. 336.

[e] Cedren. 547. See the remarkable history of the philosopher Leo, bishop of Thessalonica, in Const. Porph. iv. 27-9; or Cedrenus, 548-50.

although his pedigree was afterwards deduced by flatterers from the Persian Arsacidæ, from Alexander the Great, and from Constantine,[f] was really of Slavonic race. His birth was humble, and his first appearance at Constantinople was as a needy adventurer, seeking shelter for a night in the porch of a monastery, where the abbot, it is said, was thrice warned in visions by the patron, St. Diomede, to open the gate and admit him.[g] Basil found employment as servant to a kinsman of the emperor, and after a time was introduced to the notice of Michael, who, in reward of his accomplishments as a wrestler, a jockey, and a toper,[h] raised him to the dignity of the patriciate, and bestowed on him one of his own mistresses in marriage.[i] Bardas began to take alarm at the rapid rise of the new favourite; but Michael and Basil gave him a solemn assurance of safety, signed by the emperor's own hand.[k] Soon after, however, the murder of the Cæsar was concerted while he was engaged with the emperor on a military expedition. The assassins, to whom the signal was given by the sign of the cross. hesitated to strike him in the imperial presence; but Basil gave the first blow from behind, and the victim was despatched while embracing the emperor's feet.[l] After a short interval, during which the vigour of Bardas was missed in the government, and complaints of the general discontent reached even the ears of Michael, Basil was nominated Cæsar, and on Whitsunday 867 he was crowned by the emperor's hands with a diadem which had been blessed by Photius.[m] He immediately began to display talents of a different order from those which

[f] Const. Porph. v. 2-3; Cedren. 557. See Gibbon, iv. 425; Finlay, ii. 272.

[g] Const. Porph. v. 9; G. Hamartol. Contin. pp. 725-8; Cedren. 560.

[h] Const. Porph. v. 12; Cedren. 563-4.

[i] Const. Porph. v. 16; Sym. Magist. de Mich. 40; Schlosser, 630-1.

[k] Cedren. 566; Schlosser, 634-8.

[l] Const. Porph. v. 18; Cedren. 555-6; Schlosser, 639. Baronius traces the fate of Bardas to his guilt in opposing the pope. 867. 75, seqq

[m] Const. Porph. iv. 43; Cedren. 567; Schlosser, 644.

had won for him the imperial favour, and endeavoured to put some restraint on the increasing grossness of his patron's debaucheries; but the attempt provoked Michael to such a degree that he is said in his drunken frenzy to have given orders for the Cæsar's death, and to have announced an intention of promoting a boatman in his room.[n] Basil felt that he must sacrifice the emperor's life or his own, and by his command Michael, after having stupefied himself with wine at supper, in the Cæsar's company, was murdered on the 24th of September 867.[o] The Greek historians can discover no other redeeming fact in the life of this wretched prince than that he bestowed a chalice and a splendid chandelier on the church of St. Sophia.[p] Basil found an exhausted treasury, but exerted himself with vigour and success to replenish it and to restore the empire.[q]

Two days after the death of Michael, Photius was deposed.[r] He had formerly been on friendly terms with Basil, and contradictory accounts are given of the reason for his deposition. By some it is explained in a manner discreditable to him, while others say that he provoked the emperor by refusing the eucharist to him as a murderer and an usurper.[s]

Nicolas had written to Hincmar, detailing the history

[n] Const. Porph. iv. 44, v. 24-6; Sym. Mag. 47.

[o] G. Hamart. Contin. pp. 749, 750; Const. Porph. iv. 44, v. 27; Cedren. 567; Pagi, xv. 115; Schlosser, 653-8; Finlay, ii. 232. The continuator of Hamartolus relates that all Basil's agents in the murder came to bad ends. 752-3.

[p] Const. Porph. iv. 45; Cedren. 557.

[q] Const. Porph. v. 29, seqq.; Cedren. 567-8, 570, 577-8.

[r] Vita Ign. 981. Mr. Finlay says that he remained in office two *years*. ii. 274.

[s] G. Hamart. Contin. 754; Zonaras, ap. Baron. 867. 101; Schröckh, xxiv. 161-2. The refusal of communion seems hardly agreeable to the character of Photius, who had not scrupled to associate with Michael and Bardas, notwithstanding their vices (Neand. vi. 315). Nor is it probable that, if such a refusal had been given, he would, in reminding Basil of their former friendship, have said in particular, "You have received at my hands the awful and immaculate mysteries" (Ep. 97, init.). The late editor of the epistles, however, is strongly in favour of the story. (53-5, 218.) Baronius solves the question in his own

of the Bulgarian affair, and requesting the assistance of the Frankish clergy, whose character stood highest for learning among the clergy of the west, to combat the attacks which had been made by the Greeks on the Christianity of the Latins.[t] In consequence of this invitation, Hincmar desired Odo, bishop of Beauvais, and other divines to collect materials for a general defence;[u] and the result was the production of treatises by Odo, Æneas of Paris, and Ratramn.[x] Of these, the work of Ratramn is regarded as the most valuable.[y] The first three books of it are devoted to the question of the Holy Spirit's procession, while the fourth and last discusses the controversy as to rites and discipline. It is remarkable that, in opposition to the line usually taken by Nicolas, the monk of Corbie dwells on the sufficiency of uniting in faith, and censures the Greeks, not for varying from the Roman usages, but for insisting on their own as exclusively correct and necessary.[z] The Greek doctrine as to the Holy Spirit was also condemned by a synod of bishops from the dominions of Lewis of Germany, which met at Worms in 868.[a]

Basil reinstated Ignatius in the patriarchate with great pomp,[b] and sent a member of each party to Rome, accompanied by one of his own officers, for the purpose

way, by saying that the patriarch was deposed in consequence of the condemnation by Nicolas. 867. 101.

[t] Nic. Ep. 70; Hincm. ii. 809. Some of the charges which the pope mentions as calumnious were not without foundation in the practice of *some* among the Latins. See Giesel. II. i. 375. Dr. Floss supposes that Scotus, as might have been expected from his general character, took the Greek side of the controversy between the churches, and that this was the reason why Nicolas endeavoured to procure his dismissal from the court of Charles the Bald. (Patrol. cxxii. Præf. xxiii.; see above, p. 59.) But the date assigned to the pope's letter, A.D. 861-2, seems hardly consistent with this.

[u] Opera, ii. 610.

[x] Patrol. cxix., cxxi. See p. 178, n. 5.

[y] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VI. lxxxi.; Schröckh, xxiv. 178-83; Neand. vi. 313.

[z] Ratr. contra Græcorum Opposita, iv. 1.

[a] See Hefele, iv. 352

[b] Vita Ign. 985.

of representing the state of affairs; but the envoy of Photius was shipwrecked and died on the journey,[c] so that his cause was left without an advocate. The representative of Ignatius was charged with a letter from the patriarch, in which the authority of St. Peter's successors was acknowledged in terms such as had not been usual at Constantinople.[d] Adrian, who had now succeeded Nicolas, assembled a synod, which renewed the former sentence against Photius.[e] It was ordered that the copy of the Byzantine synod's acts which had been transmitted to Rome should be burnt, and that those at Constantinople should share the same fate.[f]

A council, which is regarded in the Roman church as the eighth general council,[g] met at Constantinople in October 869. It was attended by two bishops and a deacon from Rome; Antioch was represented by the metropolitan of Tyre, Jerusalem by a presbyter;[h] and to these a representative of the Alexandrian see was added at the ninth session.[i] Some high civil officers were present, but the number of bishops was at first exceedingly small;[k] and, although afterwards gradually increased, it did not

[c] Vita Ign. 985. Anastasius the Librarian makes an edifying use of the shipwreck,—"Qui navim Christi, hoc est ecclesiam, sciderat, navis suæ scissionem non inconvenienter incurrit." Hard. v. 754.

[d] The letters of the emperor and of the patriarch are in Hard. v. 790-3.

[e] Ib. 862-71.

[f] Ib. 874.

[g] See Baron. 869. 61-4; Pagi, xv. 180; Palmer on the Church, ii. 215.

[h] Hard. v. 764, 771.

[i] Ib. 884, 1092. There are two reports of this council—the one in Latin, by Anastasius the Librarian, who was then at Constantinople for the purpose of negotiating a marriage between the families of Lewis II. and Basil (Hard v. 755); the other Greek: and they vary very considerably. In the Latin acts there are 27 canons (Hard. v. 899, seqq.); in the Greek, only 14 (ib. 1097, seqq.): the reason being, perhaps, that the Latins prepared the larger number, while the Greeks inserted in their report such only as related to the main subject (Schröckh, xxiv. 170-1). Among those which are found in Latin only are some which lay down pseudo-Isidorian doctrines as to the position of metropolitans and the trial of bishops (cc. 17, 26). One, directed against the iconoclasts, is found in both versions (c. 3 Gr.; c. 7 Lat.); and a Frank writer, the continuator of Aimoin, speaks of this as contrary to the orthodox doctrine of the fathers. Giesel. II. i. 377.

[k] Hard. v. 764-5; 1025-7.

rise beyond sixty at the ninth session, and 102 or 109 at the tenth and last.[l]

On the first day the sentence of the late Roman council against Photius was adopted, and all bishops who afterwards joined the assembly were required to sign it.[m] The second, third, and fourth sessions were chiefly occupied in dealing with bishops and clergy who, after having been ordained by Ignatius or his predecessor, had submitted to Photius. These presented a confession of their offences, alleging that they had been forced or deceived into them; and they were admitted to communion on condition of performing some penitential exercises. At the fourth session there was a sharp discussion with a bishop named Theophilus, who was firm in his adherence to Photius.[n] The patriarch himself was brought forward on the fifth day, and met the questions addressed to him by a dignified silence. When urged to speak, he replied that God would hear him although he said nothing.[o] "You will not," said the Roman legates, "by your silence escape a greater condemnation." "Neither," he replied, "did Jesus by holding his peace escape condemnation"; and he resumed his former silence.[p] When the lay president of the council, Baanes, who treated him with a courtesy unlike the behaviour of the ecclesiastics, afterwards asked him what he could allege in his justification, Photius answered, "My justifications are not in this world."[q]

The emperor appeared at the sixth session, and told the council that he had absented himself from its earlier meetings lest he should be supposed to influence its

[l] Held on the last day of February, 870. See Pagi, xv. 163; Schröckh, xxiv. 164-5; Hefele, iv. 409.

[m] Hard. v. 773, 817.

[n] Ib. 782, seqq.

[o] This is supposed to be borrowed from IV. Maccabees, x. 18, or from a homily on the Syrophœnician woman, doubtfully ascribed to St. Chrysostom (t. iii. p. 442, ed. Montfauc.),—"καὶ σιωπώντων ἀκούει ὁ Θεός." Valetta, 59.

[p] Hard. v. 819, 1051.

[q] Ib. 822, 1054.

decision as to Photius.[r] But the affair of the patriarch was not yet concluded. He was cited before the council on the seventh day, and entered leaning on a staff;—"Take away his staff," said the Roman legate Marinus; "it is an ensign of pastoral dignity."[s] The bishops of his party in vain appealed to the canons.[t] Anathemas were pronounced against Photius and his adherents, the most odious epithets being attached to their names;[u] the writings and documents on his side were burnt;[x] and, in token of the exasperation by which the council was animated, it is said that the condemnation of the patriarch was subscribed in the wine of the eucharistic cup.[y]

In the course of the council's proceedings, however, it appeared that the personal question as to the patriarchate was not the only subject of difference between Rome and Constantinople. The Romans complained that the pope's letter had been mutilated in the reading; the Greeks told Ignatius that his church had been made the servant of Rome; and Ignatius himself was as resolute as Photius to assert the jurisdiction of his see over Bulgaria.[z] Some ambassadors from that country were at Constantinople, and their master—by what influence is unknown—had been again induced to waver in his religious allegiance. The ambassadors, on being summoned into the emperor's presence, with Ignatius, the Roman legates, and the representatives of the eastern patriarchs, inquired to which church they must consider their country to belong. The orientals asked to which

[r] Hard. v. 835, 1064.

[s] Ib. 839, 1065.

[t] Ib. 841.

[u] Ib. 873.

[x] Ib. 875, 1086.

[y] Vita Ign. 988. The biographer, however, thinks that Photius was too gently treated, and cites prodigies which soon after happened in favour of this opinion (988-9). In the subscriptions to the acts of the council, the Roman legates stand first, while Basil and his sons do not sign until after the representatives of all the patriarchates. (Hard. v. 922-3.) See Hefele, i. 25-7.

[z] Schröckh, xxiv 173. See the Acta SS., Oct. 23, p. 164; Valetta, 71-2.

church it had belonged while a province of the empire, and whether the clergy at the time of the Bulgarian conquest had been Greeks or Latins. It was answered that the province had been subject to Constantinople, and that the clergy found in it were Greeks; and on these grounds it was adjudged that Bulgaria ought to belong to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Roman legates, however, disputed the alleged facts, and handed to Ignatius a letter from the pope, charging him not to interfere, which the patriarch received in a respectful manner, but did not further regard. The emperor dismissed the legates with coolness.[a] Ignatius in the same year consecrated an archbishop for Bulgaria, and within a short time all the Latin clergy were ejected from that country.[b]

John VIII. wrote to the Bulgarians, exhorting them to return to the communion of his church, which they had formerly chosen, and warning them A.D. 877.[c] as to the danger of a connexion with the Greeks, who, he said, were always in one heresy or another.[d] The pope also wrote to Ignatius, telling him that, as he was indebted to the apostolic see for his dignity, so he should lose it if he kept possession of Bulgaria. The Greek clergy, who were already excommunicate for introducing their errors into a church planted by the holy see, must be withdrawn within thirty days; and Ignatius is threatened with excommunication and deposition if he should neglect the order.[e] Letters in a like tone were written to the king of Bulgaria, and to the Greek clergy in that country;[f] and a violent collision would probably have ensued, but for the death of Ignatius, which took place in October 877.[g]

[a] Vita Hadriani ap. Murator. v. 267-8; Schröckh, xxiv. 173-5.

[b] Vita Hadr. 344; Pagi, xv. 218. It was to this archbishop that Peter of Sicily addressed his account of the Paulicians. See p. 175.

[c] Acta SS., Oct. 23, p. 165.

[d] Hard. vi. 16, 19.

[e] Ib. 20.

[f] Ib. 22, 50, 56, 59, etc.

[g] Acta SS., Oct. 23, p. 1

Photius, after his deprivation, had at first been treated with extreme severity. He complains in his letters that he is strictly guarded by soldiers; that he is deprived of all intercourse with relations, friends, monks, and clergy; that his property is confiscated, that he is allowed no attendance of servants, and in his sickness can obtain no medicines.[h] He suffers from hunger, and yet more from "a famine of the word of God"; he is separated from all books—a cruelty unexampled in the persecutions of the orthodox by heretics or by pagans; and in the meantime his adherents are cruelly treated, churches are destroyed, holy things are profaned, the poor, whom he had tended for the benefit of his soul, are left friendless and helpless.[i] He inveighs against the synod of 869 as having neglected all the forms of justice in its dealings with him—as worse than anything that had been known among the most lawless and savage heathens.[k]

But after a time he found means to recover the favour of Basil. According to the biographer of Ignatius, he drew up an imaginary pedigree, tracing the emperor's ancestry to the Persian kings; this was written in antique letters on parchment of corresponding appearance, and, having been bound in the cover of an old manuscript, it was introduced into the library of the palace by the keeper, who took an opportunity of showing it to Basil, and suggested that Photius was the only man capable of explaining it.[l] A still more unlikely tale asserts that the emperor's love was won by charms administered in his food and drink.[m] But it would seem that in truth Basil, out of regard for the unequalled

[h] Ep. 97, p. 137.

[i] Epp. 97, pp. 137-8; 174, pp. 240, 247-8, 250.

[k] Epp. 117-18.

[l] Vita Ign. 1004. Comp. Sym. Magist. de Basil. 7. and a story told by the same writer as to the emperor Theophilus and the patriarch Methodius. (De Theoph. 24.) On the other side, Valetta, 67.

[m] Hard. v. 1149.

learning of Photius, and perhaps also from a wish to conciliate his partisans, whose constancy to the ejected patriarch may have raised some apprehensions, recalled him from banishment, and appointed him tutor to Leo, the heir apparent of the crown.[n] While thus employed he was reconciled with Ignatius, and from that time he lived on good terms with him, steadily refusing to become the head of a party in opposition to the aged patriarch.[o]

Photius was now raised to the see as successor to Ignatius, and announced his promotion to John VIII., with a request that the pope would send legates to a new synod which was to be held at Constantinople.[p] The chief object of this application was to secure the assistance of Rome for the purpose of quieting the Ignatian party;[q] but John seized on it as an acknowledgment that the title of Photius to the patriarchal throne depended on the papal judgment, and supposed that the Byzantines would be willing to bear anything for the sake of obtaining his countenance. Two bishops and a priest were sent as legates, with letters and instructions in which it was said that Photius might be restored if he would make satisfaction for his offences and would ask mercy of the synod; and it was insisted on that he should resign all pretensions to Bulgaria.[r] The ensigns of the patriarchal dignity were transmitted in the same manner which had been usual in bestowing the pall on metropolitans.[s]

Oct. 878.

Aug. 16, 879.

[n] Const. Porph. v. 44; Schröckh, xxiv. 186; Hefele, iv. 427: Valetta, 67-8.

[o] So Photius himself said in the synod of 879. (Hard. vi. 256.) His opponents, however, tell a different story. See Hefele, iv. 430.

[p] Hard. vi. 1152. Gregory of Syracuse, who had shared the misfortunes of Photius, now received the bishoprick of Nicæa, in which he died soon after. Vita Ign. 1008.

[q] Neand. vi. 322-3.

[r] Hard. v. 1165, 1185; vi. 207, 1168-9. Mr. Valetta remarks that no personal objections were now made to the man who had been so violently abused (73). On the Roman side, see Tosti, Scisma Greco, i. 402.

[s] Hard. vi. 228. See Neand. vi. 323.

The synod—the eighth general council according to the Greek reckoning—was imposing as to numbers, consisting of 380 bishops from the empire, with the three Roman legates, and three deputies from the oriental patriarchs.[t] The precedent set by the second council of Nicæa, of having representatives from the eastern thrones, had been followed in the council under Photius in 861, and in that under Ignatius in 869. But at the latter of these, the representatives of the east had declared that the orientals who had taken part in the synod under Photius were impostors, with forged credentials.[u] Photius, however, asserted that those who made that declaration were themselves not only impostors, but agents of the Saracens;[x] and letters were now produced from Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, in which the patriarchs disavowed the persons who had acted in their names, and disowned all connexion with the proceedings against Photius.[y]

The Roman legates found that matters were conducted in a very different way from what the courteous behaviour of Photius had led them to expect. Instead of submitting himself to their judgment, he assumed the presidency of the council from the beginning, declaring that both his first and his second elevation had been forced on him—that he had committed no wrong, and did not need any mercy.[z] The pope's letters were read, but with omissions of the more violent pretensions, and with insertions to

[t] Schröckh, xxiv. 188-9. The Greeks disallowed the council of 869.

[u] The synod discovered the persons who had taken on themselves the character of envoys. These said that, having come to Constantinople on other business, they had been induced by Photius to appear in his synod, and on this ground he was anathematized in the 9th canon. Hard. v. 874-7, 901, or 1085-9, 1100.

[x] Ep. 116, p. 159. See Valetta, 62. The explanation offered by the opposite party is, that the patriarch of Jerusalem, in order to avert the suspicions of the Saracens, had given the envoys instructions to negotiate for the redemption of Saracen captives at Constantinople. Hard. vi. 1160 · Hefele, iv. 423.

[y] Hard. vi. 300, 301, 325.

[z] Ib. 253-7.

the honour of the patriarch.[a] The demand of Bulgaria was, with great professions of respect for Rome, evaded as being foreign to the question in hand.[b] The Greek bishops all supported the patriarch, and acted as if in entire independence of Rome;[c] yet the legates allowed all these things to pass without a protest, and joined in anathematizing the council of 869, by which Photius had been deposed.

It was only by degrees that John became acquainted with the result of the council. At first he declared himself willing to confirm its restoration of Photius, if he should find that the legates had not disobeyed their instructions. Misconstruing the polite phrases of the Greeks, he supposed that Bulgaria had been given up to him, and wrote to thank the emperor for the concession; while in a letter to Photius he expressed surprise that in some respects his directions had not been followed by the council.[d] When, however, he discovered

Aug. 13, 880.

[a] See Hard. v. 1165, seqq.; vi. 63-72, 231, seqq.; 246, seqq.; 277, seqq.; 1152.

[b] Hard. vi. 252, 309.

[c] Ib. 312, seqq.; Schröckh, xxiv. 192; Hefele, iv. 462-3. Although this synod answers all the conditions usually laid down for a general council, the Romanists speak of it as a Photian conventicle, and censure John for consenting to it in any degree. Baronius and others suppose the fable of Pope Joan to have taken its origin from the pope's weakness in yielding to the wishes of Basil (879. 46; see Valetta, 73-4)—a supposition very inconsistent with the general character of John. The same historian ventures to conjecture that the acts of the council were forged by Photius (879. 73); and this extravagant idea has been more confidently repeated by others, as by Rohrbacher, who speaks in his index of the "Fourberie de Photius, peut-être unique dans l'histoire." (See also vol. xii. 237, and Schröckh, xxiv. 193-5; Giesel. II. i. 380.) This charge may have originated in the story told by the biographer of Ignatius, that Photius forged the acts of a synod against his rival, and sent them to Lewis II. (see above, p. 430). Baronius says that the synod of 879 is "una cum auctore in imis inferis obruenda" (879, 63). Dr. Döllinger contents himself with comparing it to the "Latrocinium" of Ephesus, with the exception that what was there done by violence was here done by craft (i. 396). A marginal note on the council (Hard. vi. 331) asserts that the sixth and seventh sessions were invented by Photius; but Hardouin regards this as the trick of some "Græculus," in order to bespeak credit for the earlier sessions! See Hefele, iv. 463.

[d] Ep. 108 ad Phot.; Ep. 109 ad Imperatores, Hard. vi.

the real state of the matter, his exasperation was unbounded. He ascended the pulpit of a church, and, holding the book of the Gospels in his hand, threatened to anathematize all who should not regard Photius as one condemned by God's judgment, according to the sentences of Nicolas and Adrian;[e] and he sent Marinus, one of the legates who had attended the council under Ignatius, to insist that matters should be restored to the state which had been established by that council. But the legate was treated with indignity, was imprisoned for a month at Constantinople, and returned without any success.[f] On the death of John, Marinus was raised to the papacy, and the sentence against Photius was renewed by him,[g] by Adrian III., and by Stephen V., who held an angry correspondence on the subject with Basil and his son Leo VI.[h]

Leo, formerly the pupil of Photius, on his accession in 886, deposed the patriarch, confined him in a monastery, and filled the see with his own brother Stephen, a boy of sixteen.[i] The reasons of this step are unknown; the Greek writers in general trace it to a suspicion that Photius was implicated with a monk named Theodore Santabarenus, who is said to have gained an influence over the late emperor by magical arts, and had endeavoured by a double treachery to alienate him from his son.[k] An inquiry into the conduct of Photius took place; but, although no evidence could be found against him, he did

[e] Hard. v. 1161; Baron. 880. 11.

[f] Stephan. V. ap. Hard. vi. 367.

[g] Baron. 882. 12.

[h] See Hard. v. 1116, seqq.; vi. 365, seqq.

[i] G. Hamart. contin. p. 762.

[k] Const. Porph. v. 101; vi. 2; G. Hamart. contin. 768-70; Cedren. 593; Schröckh, xxiv. 198. The continuator of Hamartolus says that when, in consequence of Theodore's charges, Basil was about to blind his son, Photius successfully interceded for Leo (763). An unknown Greek writer, cited by Baronius (886. 16), ascribes the deposition to the emperor's regard for the pope. Gfrörer conjectures that Photius had a scheme for rendering the church independent, and that the emperor meant to defeat this by getting the patriarchate into his own family—Basil having already shown a like in-

not recover his see, and he died in exile in the year 891.[l] The two parties which had divided the church of Constantinople were reconciled within a few years; but Pope John IX. made difficulties as to recognizing the clergy who had been ordained by Photius.[m] At length, however, the churches resumed communion, and the name of Photius himself was among those of the patriarchs acknowledged by Rome.[n] But political jealousies, and the retention of Bulgaria by the Byzantine patriarchate,[o] together with the differences as to rites and doctrine, continued to keep up a coolness between the sees, until at a later time they again broke out into open discord. A.D. 898.

CHAPTER IV.

SPAIN.—ENGLAND.—MISSIONS OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

I. THE Christians of Spain after the Mahometan conquest, who were known by the name of Mustaraba, or Mozarabes,[a] enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, although on condition of paying a heavy monthly poll-tax.[b] They generally lived on friendly terms with their Mussulman

tention by bringing up Stephen as an ecclesiastic (Kircheng. iii. 301). Symeon Magister describes Santabarenus as a Manichæan and a magician. De Basil. 17-18, 21.

[l] Const. Porph. vi. 5; Cedren. 594-5; Pagi, xv. 424.

[m] Hard. vi. 479; Baron. 905. 9; Pagi, xv. 539; Schröckh, xxiv. 198-207.

[n] See Baron. 905. 11-12, and Pagi's notes; Schröckh, xxiv. 201.

[o] In 923, the Bulgarian king Symeon, in dictating terms of peace to the emperor Romanus I., required that the chief bishop of Bulgaria should be acknowledged by Constantinople as an independent patriarch; and this lasted until John Tzimisces put an end to the Bulgarian kingdom, A.D. 972. Finlay, ii. 81.

[a] The name does not mean (as has been mistakenly said) *mixti Arabibus*, but *Arabes insititii*—grafted on the stock of the *Araba Arabi*, or pure Arabs. Giesel. II. i. 147.

[b] Eulogii Memoriale Sanctorum, in Bibl. Patr. xv. 249, b. (or in Patrol. cxv.).

masters; many of them held office under the caliphs, and monks and clergy who understood both the Arabic and the Latin languages were employed in diplomatic correspondence.[c]

But, notwithstanding these relations, the difference of religion was a source of continual trouble. The Mahometan mobs often abused Christians in the streets; they shouted out blasphemies against the Christian name, while all retaliation was forbidden by law under very severe penalties. If a marriage took place between persons professing the two religions, the general law against apostasy from Islam made it death for the Mahometan party to embrace Christianity; and the questions which in such marriages naturally arose as to the religion of the issue produced very serious difficulties. Moreover, the hostility of the Mussulmans towards the Christians who dwelt among them was excited by the persevering efforts of those who in other parts of the peninsula carried on a war of independence; while these efforts served also to raise among the Christians under the Mahometan rule a desire to do something for the more public assertion of their faith.[d]

The Christians were divided into two parties. The more numerous of these was bent on preserving peace with their rulers as far as possible, and enjoying the toleration which was allowed them. The other party regarded this acquiescence as unworthy; they thought that their brethren had been corrupted by intercourse with the Moslems into a blamable laxity of opinions. They declared that the offices of Mahometan courts could not be held without compliances unbecoming a Christian; that those who occupied such offices were obliged to refrain from openly signing themselves with the cross, and from other outward manifestations of their faith;

[c] Neand. v. 462-3. [d] Giesel. II. i. 147.

that they were obliged to speak of the Saviour in such terms as might not be offensive to the unbelievers. They complained that the Christian youth preferred the cultivation of "Chaldean" to that of ecclesiastical literature; that they were more familiar with Arabic than with Latin.[e]

About the middle of the ninth century a persecution of the Christians broke out at Cordova under the reign of Abderrahman II. The first sufferer was a monk named Perfectus, who, having fallen in with some Mahometans in the neighbourhood of the city, was questioned by them as to the opinion which Christians entertained of the prophet. He attempted to evade the question, on the ground that he was unwilling to offend them; but, as they continued to urge him, and assured him that no offence would be taken, he said that Mahomet was regarded by Christians as one of the false prophets foretold in Scripture; and he remarked on some parts of his history as being scandalous, and as proving the falsehood of his pretensions. The Arabs, in consideration of the promise which they had given, restrained their anger for the time; but when Perfectus next appeared in public, he was seized, was dragged before a judge on a charge of blasphemy against the prophet, and was executed.[f] The next victim was a merchant, who had given no provocation;[g] but the third, a young monk named Isaac, courted his fate. He went before the judge of the city, professing an inclination to embrace the religion of the Koran, and begging for some instruction in its doctrines; and when these were explained to him he denounced their falsehood with great vehemence.[h] The execution of Isaac was followed by an outburst of

A.D. 850.

[e] Alvari Indicul. Luminosus, c. 9, in Florez, España Sagrada, xi., Madr. 1792 (or in Patrol. cxxi.).

[f] Alvar. 3; Eulog. ii. 1

[g] Eulog. col. 246, f.; Alvar. 5.

[h] Eulog. Præf. 243; Alvar. 12

fanatical zeal. Clergymen, monks, nuns, and laity rushed to the Mahometan tribunals, reviling the prophet as an impostor, an adulterer, a sorcerer, and declaring that his followers were in the way to perdition.[l] And, besides those who voluntarily thrust themselves on death, many children of mixed marriages were denounced by their Mahometan relations as apostates, although they had probably been brought up from the first in the religion of the Christian parent.[k]

A.D. 851.

By this wild zeal of the weaker party the Moslems were naturally exasperated. Public outrages against Christians increased; any one who showed himself in the street was insulted, pelted with filth, or stoned: the Mahometans shrank from touching the very garments of Christians, as if it were pollution.[l] The sound of church-bells excited them to a tempest of cursing and blasphemies; and at funerals of Christians the populace followed the corpse with outcries, begging that God would have no mercy on the deceased.[m]

Abderrahman now enacted new laws, of increased severity. The bodies of those who were executed were to be burnt, lest their brethren should convert them into relics. Yet the caliph, wishing, if possible, to quell the excitement by peaceable means, requested the co-operation of the primate Recanfrid, archbishop of Toledo, who issued an order that no Christian should present himself before a Mahometan judge unless he were cited to do so. This order was received with indignation and defiance by the more zealous party, headed by Saul, bishop of Cordova; and Recanfrid, in pursuance of his policy, proceeded to imprison some refractory ecclesiastics—among them a monk and priest of Toledo named Eulogius, who had

[l] Eulog. ad Willesind. (Bibl. Patr. v. 300, c.) Details of the martyrdoms Mem. SS. ii. 3, seqq.

[k] See Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 8.

[l] Eulog. col. 249, d.

[m] Alvar. 6.

been very conspicuous in his opposition. From prison Eulogius wrote letters, intended to animate the resolution of his friends; with the fervour of a Tertullian he exhorts all who have any worldly ties to cast them aside and boldly to confess the faith, in the assurance of rejoining their martyred brethren in bliss.[n] A council was held under the archbishops of Toledo and Seville, and determined that no one ought voluntarily to provoke death by his religion.[o] By those who agreed with the spirit of this council the evils which had happened were charged on Eulogius and his associates. They ascribed the conduct of the sufferers to pride, and questioned their right to the name of martyrs—citing against them texts of Scripture, with the canons and practice of the early church.[p] Some went so far as to declare that there was no opportunity of martyrdom at the hands of the Arabs, since these were not idolaters, but worshipped the one true God and acknowledged his laws.[q] A.D. 852.

Eulogius and Peter Alvar were the leading spirits of their party.[r] They both (and more especially Alvar, who was an ecclesiastic of Cordova) write in an exalted strain of enthusiasm. Eulogius sets aside the distinction which had been drawn between heathens and Mahometans by saying that the Mahometans deny the Son of God and persecute the faithful.[s] Alvar argues from the prophecies that Mahomet is the forerunner of Antichrist.[t] The sufferings of the Christians, he says, had not been drawn down on them by the violence of zealots—for the first victims had done nothing to provoke their fate—but by

[n] Alvar. Vita Eulogii, 4-7 (Patrol. cxv.); Eulog. ad Floram et Mariam (ib. 821, seqq.); Neand. v. 468-9.

[o] Hard. v. 37-8, who calls it *conciliabulum*. Baronius is loud against it. 852. 10.

[p] Alvar. 14; Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 14; col. 248, c.

[q] Eulog. 288, d.

[r] Florez supposes Eulogius to have written in 851, and Alvar in 854. España Sagrada, xi. 43.

[s] P. 288. n. [d].

[t] C. 21.

the sins of the whole community.[u] He will allow no compliance with circumstances, no forbearance to force the Christian profession on the notice of the infidels.[x] He maintains that our Lord's charge to His disciples, "when persecuted in one city to flee into another," is inapplicable in the present case, since the object of that charge was that the disciples should spread the gospel more widely—not that they should hide it.[y] He would have Christians to press the truth on the Moslems for the purpose of making them "debtors to the faith," not (as it would seem) out of love for them, but in order to render their unbelief inexcusable.[z]

Abderrahman was succeeded in 852 by his son Mohammed, who carried the proceedings against the Christians further.[a] On the first day of his reign the new king dismissed all who held any offices about the court or in the public service.[b] He ordered that all churches which had been lately built should be destroyed, and prohibited all display in the ritual or in the furniture of the older churches which were allowed to stand.[c] The persecution continued for many years. Eulogius himself, who had been elected to the see of Toledo, was arrested in 859[d] in consequence of having aided a young female convert, named Leocritia, to escape from her parents, who were bigoted Mahometans; and, after having firmly resisted the importunities of some Arabs, who, out of respect for his sanctity and learning, endeavoured to persuade him to save his life by slight concessions, he was put to death. Four days later, Leocritia also suffered.[e]

During this long persecution many of the more luke-

[u] Cc. 3, 18.
[x] Cc. 16, 15.
[y] C. 2, p. 223.
[z] C. 10, p. 234. See Neander, v. 474.
[a] Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 16; Pagi, xiv. 396.
[b] Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 16; iii. 1
[c] Ib. iii. 3.
[d] Vita, 10.
[e] Ib. 13-16; Pagi, xiv. 498.

warm Christians openly apostatized to the religion of Islam.[f] The heats on both sides at length died away, and the old relations of the parties were restored. A German abbot, who went on an embassy to Cordova in 954, represents the Christians as living peaceably with their masters, and as thankful for the toleration which they enjoyed; nay, if the information which he received may be trusted, it would appear that they had carried their compliance so far as to submit to the rite of circumcision.[g]

II. England, like France, was harassed and desolated by the ravages of the Northmen. Their first appearance on the coasts was in the year 767;[h] the first descent which was severely felt was in 832;[i] and from that time their invasions were incessant. Devon and Wales experienced their fury as well as the eastern coast; when the attention of the English was concentrated on one point, a fresh band of enemies appeared in an opposite quarter; and they penetrated into the very heart of the country.[k] And here, as in France, the wealth and the defencelessness of the monasteries pointed these out as the chief objects of attack. The chronicles of the time abound in frightful details of their wasting with fire and sword the sanctuaries of Croyland, Medeshamstede (Peterborough), Bardney, and Ely; of Repton and Coldingham; of Lindisfarne, from which a little band of monks carried off the relics of St. Cuthbert over the mountains of Northumbria, in continual fear of the ravagers by whom they were surrounded on every side.[l] At length, in 878, after the victory gained

[f] Giesel. II. i. 151-2.

[g] Vita Johannis Abbat. Gorziensis, cc. 123-4 (Pertz, iv.).

[h] Chron. Ang.-Sax. A.D. 787.

[i] Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 171.

[k] The Danish ravages are very fully related, after the old chroniclers, in Mr. M'Cabe's 'Catholic History of England,' vol. ii. A more condensed account is given by Lingard, A. S. C. ii. c. 12.

[l] Sym. Dunelm., Hist. Dunelm. ii.

by Alfred over Guthrun at Ethandune, a large territory in the east of England was ceded to the Danes, on condition of their professing Christianity, and living under equal laws with the native inhabitants;[m] but the peace thus obtained was only for a time.

Of the lustre of Alfred's reign it is needless to speak to readers who may be presumed to know in any degree the history of their country. Alfred succeeded his father in 871, at the age of twenty-two,[n] and held the throne for thirty years. His character may have been idealized in some respects, that it might fulfil the conception of a perfect sovereign; and institutions have been ascribed to him which are in truth derived from other sources.[o] Yet historical reality exhibits to us this "darling of the English"—"Alfred the Truthteller"[p]—as the deliverer, the lawgiver, and the wise ruler of his country, as a hero, and as a saint. It sets before us his efforts to revive the public spirit which had become all but extinct during the long calamities of the Danish invasions;[q] his zealous and successful labours to repair in mature years the defects of his early education;[r] his exertions for the restoration of learning among the clergy, which had fallen into melancholy decay, and for the general instruction of the people;[s] his encouragement of learned men, whether natives,—as his biographer Asser,[t] Plegmund, Werfrith, and Neot,—or foreigners whom he invited to impart to the English a culture which was not to be found at home—as Grimbald

6, 10; Raine, 'St. Cuthbert,' 41, seqq. (Durham, 1828); Montalemb. iv. 390, seqq.

[m] Spelman, Life of Alfred, ed. Hearne, Oxon. 1709, pp. 65-7.

[n] Ib. 44.

[o] Hallam, M. A. ii. 74-8; Lappenb. i. 332.

[p] Asser (?) in Mon. Hist. Brit. 498.

[q] Asser, passim.

[r] Ib. 474, 486.

[s] Ib. 485-6, etc.; Turner, Hist. Anglo-Sax. ii. 144.

[t] Asser, 487. Against some doubts which have been raised as to Asser, see Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 420; Pauli, 'König Aelfred,' 4-14; Hardy, Pref. to Mon. Hist. Brit. 80-1; Shirley, in Gent. Mag., June, 1865, 744-7.

of Reims,[u] and John of Old Saxony;[x] his care to enrich the vernacular literature by executing or encouraging versions or paraphrases of religious and instructive works —portions of Scripture, writings of Boëthius, Gregory the Great, Orosius, and Bede.[y] It shows us that these labours were carried on under the continual tortures of disease,[z] and amidst the necessities of providing for the national defence; it dwells on his habits of devotion, and on the comprehensive interest in the affairs of Christendom which induced him even to send a mission to the shrine of St. Thomas in India.[a] Small as his kingdom was, he raised it to a high place among the nations; and among great sovereigns no character shines brighter or purer than his. Alfred died in 900 or 901.[b]

III. The conversion of Bulgaria, which has been related in the history of the dissensions between the Greek and Latin churches, led to that of the Slavonic inhabitants of Greece and of the Mainotes.[c] The Croats were evangelized by missionaries from Rome; while the victories of Basil, about the year 870, were followed by the labours of Greek missionaries in Servia.[d]

Christianity had been introduced into Moravia by the arms of Charlemagne, who in 801, according to his usual system, compelled the king to receive baptism.[e] Since that time, attempts had been made to extend the knowledge of the gospel among the Moravians under the auspices of the archbishops of Salzburg and the bishops

[u] See the Liber Monasterii de Hyda, 30, seqq., 83-4 (Chron. and Mem. of Gr. Brit.).

[x] Asser, 486-7, 493. This John has been confounded by many writers with John Scotus. See above, p. 359.

[y] See Milman, ii. 368. For his additions to Boëthius, see Turner, ii. 22. Orosius has also important additions. See the edition of Alfred lately published by Dr. Bosworth and others.

[z] Asser, 484-5, 492.

[a] Chron. Ang.-Sax. A.D. 883; Turner, ii. 145; Lappenb. i. 338.

[b] Spelman, 216.

[c] Giesel. II. i. 399.

[d] Hardwick, 'Manual of Ch. Hist., Middle Age' (Cambr. 1853), 135-6.

[e] Conversio Bagoariorum, etc. (Patrol. cxxix. 1271); Schröckh, xxi. 406.

of Passau, who employed a regionary bishop for the purpose.[f] But these attempts had little effect; the princes of the country had relapsed into heathenism, the Christians were few, and their religion was very rude.[g] A new and more effectual movement arose out of an embassy which Radislav, king of Moravia, sent into Bulgaria, for the purpose of obtaining aid against Lewis of Germany. His nephew Swatopluk or Zwentibold, who was employed on this mission, became a convert to the new faith of the Bulgarians; and on his return he was joined by the queen, who was herself a Christian, in urging it on her husband's attention.[h] An application for Christian teachers was made to the emperor Michael; and two missionaries, Constantine and his brother Methodius—perhaps the same Methodius whose skill as an artist had produced so great an effect at the Bulgarian court[i]—were sent from Constantinople into Moravia.[k]

Constantine—better known under the name of Cyril, which he is said to have assumed towards the end of his life in obedience to a vision[l]—was a priest and monk, and is designated as a philosopher. He was a native of Thessalonica, and, from the mixture of the Greek and Slave populations in his own country, had probably been acquainted from his early years with a dialect of the Slavonic.[m] He had preached among the Chazars of the Ukraine and the Crimea, who in 843 had applied for

[f] Ginzel, 31. See a letter of Eugenius II., A.D. 826 (Patrol. cv. 641). Jaffé includes this among the genuine epistles, and Rettberg (ii. 56) quotes it without suspicion; but Palacky (i. 108) and Ginzel (31) regard it as spurious.

[g] Döllinger, i. 330-2; Giesel. II. i. 350-1; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 449.

[h] Schröckh, xxi. 409.

[i] P. 432. See Acta SS., Mart. 9, p. 13; Neand. v. 423.

[k] Transl. S. Clementis, c. 7, in Ginzel's Supplement, or in Acta SS., Mart. 9. (Ginzel's History of Cyril and Methodius is valuable for the industry with which the materials have been collected, and for the appendix of documents: but the author's judgment is strangely warped by his zealous Romanism.)

[l] Transl. S. Clem. c. 10, ap. Ginzel.

[m] Ib. 1; Legenda Pannon. 5, ap Ginzel; Palacky, i. 119; Ginzel, 22; Herzog, iii. 225.

instructors from Constantinople, on the ground that they were distracted between the rival pretensions of Judaism, Mahometanism, and Christianity [n]—a mixture of religions which was found in the same regions by a Mussulman traveller seventy years later.[o] The success of his labours among the Chazars is described as complete, and the impression of them was strengthened by his refusal of all recompence except the release of such Christians as were captives in the country; [p] but some of his biographers appear to regard as more important his discovery of a body supposed to be that of St. Clement of Rome, who was said to have been banished by Trajan to the Chersonese, and to have been there martyred.[q] The fame of the mission to the Chazars had reached the Moravian king, who especially requested that Cyril might be sent to him; [r] and in 863 [s] the brothers proceeded into Moravia, taking with them the relics of St. Clement. Their preaching was marked by a striking difference from the ordinary practice of the time—that, whereas the Greek and Latin missionaries usually introduced their own tongues as the ecclesiastical language among barbarian nations, Cyril and Methodius mastered the language of the country, and not only used it in their addresses to the people, but translated the Liturgy and portions of the Scriptures into it—Cyril, after the example of Ulfilas, having either invented a Slavonic alphabet, or improved that which before existed.[t]

[n] Transl. S. Clem. 1; Schröckh, xxi. 400-1. It was in 848 that Cyril went on his mission, according to Assemanni and others; but Ginzel (25) dates it in 861.

[o] Gfrörer, Karol. i. 452.

[p] Legenda Morav. 3.

[q] Martyr. S. Clem. 19-24 (Patrol. Gr. ii.); Transl. S. Clem. 2-5; Giesel. II. i. 353-4. See Tillemont, ii. 161. It need hardly be said that there were rival relics of St. Clement elsewhere. See, *e.g.*, Rostangnus, in Patrol. ccix. 905, seqq.; Alban Butler, Nov. 23.

[r] Transl. 7.

[s] Ginzel, 38.

[t] "Loci indigenæ . . . . valde gavisi sunt, quia et reliquias B. Clementis secum ferre audierant, et evangelium in eorum linguam a philosopho prædicto translatum." (Transl. S. Clem. 7; cf. Legend. Morav. 5; Leg. Bohem. 2; Leg. Pannon. 5.) Ginzel infers that the translation of the "Evangelium"

By this innovation the success of the mission was greatly forwarded. Radislav received baptism,[u] his subjects were rapidly converted, churches were built for Christian worship, and the reverence in which the missionaries were held appears from the fact that in Moravia the clergy were styled by a name which signifies *princes*.[x]

After a time a report of these proceedings reached

had been made at Constantinople, before the missionaries set out, and that the word means those portions only of the Gospel which were read in the church service (37). He supposes that the other Scripture lessons, etc., were afterwards translated by Cyril and Methodius, and says that there was no complete Slavonic Bible until the fifteenth century (42-3). The statement of the Pannonian legend (15), that Methodius translated all the Scriptures, except the books of the Maccabees, in six months, is evidently fabulous—the exception being probably adopted from the story as to Ulfilas and the books of Kings. (See vol. i. p. 417.) Palacky says that the translations were in the Macedonian dialect of the Slavonic (i. 45), while Ginzel is for the Moravian dialect (153). But if some part was executed before the missionaries entered Moravia, could this part have been in the dialect of that country? (See other opinions stated in Ginzel, 132.) As to the alphabet, there has been much controversy. Slavonic writers maintain that the other alphabet of their language, which is known by the name of *Glagolitic* (from *glagol*, a *word* or *letter*, Ginzel, 124), was invented by the Illyrian St. Jerome, or at least was as old as his time; while the Germans, with some eminent exceptions, say that it was derived from that of Cyril. (See Schröckh, xxi. 411-13; Giesel. II. i. 353; Schleicher, 'Formenlehre der Kirchenslawischen Sprache,' 31-2, Bonn, 1852; Ginzel, 36.) Krasinski refers to Kopitar as having shown that the Glagolitic alphabet is at least as old as Cyril's (Lectures on the Religious Hist. of the Slavonic Nations, p. 23, Edinb. 1849). As the Glagolitic has more of a Latin, and the Cyrillian of a Greek character, Ginzel, in accordance with his fancy that Cyril was from the first strictly subordinate to Rome, supposes that *he* was the inventor of the Glagolitic, and that the so-called Cyrillian was invented by his disciples who were afterwards driven into Bulgaria! (112, 129): The Glagolitic alphabet has long been disused, except for books of church-service, the latest of which is a Breviary printed in 1791 (Ginzel, 156-65); the Cyrillian (which Schafarik, ii. 473, describes as based on the Greek, with additions derived in part from the Armenian and other oriental characters) has, since the sixteenth century, been superseded in Moravia by the Roman; but it is still used in Servia and Bulgaria, and from it the Russian alphabet is chiefly formed (see Schröckh and Gieseler, as above). For the references to Schafarik and Schleicher, I am indebted to my friend Dr. Rost, Librarian of the India Office.

[u] Leg. Morav. 5.

[x] Vogel, in Herzog's Encyclopædia, iii. 223, says that the story of Cyril and Methodius has been much disguised through Bohemian and Moravian influences; and that their chief labours were not in Moravia, but among the Slavonic people who lived in the region of the Save and the Drave.

pope Nicolas, who thereupon summoned Cyril and Methodius to appear before him.[y] The Moravians were now more closely connected with the west than with the east; in the difference between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, Cyril, who had formerly been an opponent of Photius,[z] was not inclined to side with the patriarch, whose deprivation probably took place about the time when the papal letter was written; and a refusal of compliance would have thrown the pope on the side of the Germans, from whom Radislav was in imminent danger.[a] The brothers, therefore, resolved to continue their work under such conditions as were possible, rather than to abandon it, and obeyed the summons to Rome, where they arrived shortly after the death of Nicolas. The body of St. Clement, which is said to have wrought many miracles, produced a great sensation among the Romans,[b] and the orthodoxy of the missionaries was proved to the satisfaction of Adrian II., who gratified Radislav's desire for the independence of the Moravian church by consecrating Methodius as archbishop of the Moravians. Cyril is said to have been consecrated to the episcopate, but died at Rome, where he was buried in the church of St. Clement.[c]

A.D. 868.

Radislav, after a struggle of many years against Lewis of Germany, was at length betrayed by his nephew

[y] Transl. S. Clem. 8. Ginzel very extravagantly fancies that the brothers from the first regarded themselves as subject to the pope and to the bishop of Passau; that, although they translated the liturgy, they did not venture to use it until they had received the papal approbation of it on their visit to Rome; and that the pope's citation was in answer to a letter in which they had reported themselves to him. 42-4.

[z] This opposition related to the opinion which Photius is said to have held as to the human soul (see p. 422).

[a] Neand. v. 434; Giesel. II. i. 353; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 454; Ginzel, 44.

[b] Leo Ostiens. ap. Baron. 867. 132; Transl. 9.

[c] Transl. 9-12; Leg. Morav. 6; Giesel. II. i. 353. On the contradictions between the biographers of Cyril and Methodius, see Schröckh, xxi. 415-16. It was probably about this time that the lower church of St. Clement, lately brought to light by the researches of Dr. Mullooly, was built. See the 'Quarterly Rev.' cxv. 231.

Anastas. in Patrol. cxxix. 14.

Swatopluk into the hands of his enemy, by whom he was dethroned and blinded in 870.[d] Swatopluk succeeded to the crown, and greatly extended the bounds of the Moravian kingdom, which now included a large portion of modern Austria and Hungary.[e] Over all this territory Methodius exercised authority, after some differences with Swatopluk, whom it is said that he once found it necessary to excommunicate:[f] and, as his sphere extended, many Christians who had received the gospel from the Latin church placed themselves under him. This excited the jealousy of the Germans,[g] who appear to have obtained in 873 a mandate from John VIII., forbidding him to employ a barbarous tongue in the service of the church.[h] Methodius, however, persisted,[i] and, in consequence of a

[d] Palacky, i. 127-30.

[e] Schröckh, xxi. 418; Ginzel. 78.

[f] Leg. Mor. 11; Schröckh, xxi. 417.

[g] The 'Conversio Bagoariorum,' which Ginzel supposes to have been drawn up about this time, in the interest of Salzburg (60), states that an archpriest named Rihbald laboured effectually "usque dum quidam Græcus, Methodius nomine, noviter inventis Sclavinis litteris, linguam Latinam doctrinamque Romanam atque litteras auctorales Latinas philosophice superducens, vilescere fecit cuncto populo ex parte missas et evangelium ecclesiasticumque officium illorum qui hoc Latine celebraverunt" (ap. Ginzel, Anhang. 55). Was the Slavonic liturgy a translation from the Greek, or from the Roman? or was it a new composition? Ginzel, arguing on his assumption that Cyril and Methodius from the first regarded themselves as clergy of the Latin church, supposes it to have been Roman; and in behalf of this view it may be pleaded that the objection of John VIII. related to the language only (Ginz. 107-10). But the pope expressly allows of Greek as well as of Latin service (Ep. 239); nor had the time yet come when Rome attempted to enforce liturgical uniformity everywhere. On other grounds, too, it seems more probable that the Cyrillian liturgy—whether translated, or in some degree original—was of the Greek type. And with this accords the fact which is stated by Dr. Ginzel himself (140), that the extant fragments of the liturgy formerly used in the Bohemian monastery of Sazawa are of the Greek rite.

[h] This is inferred from John's words in the letter of 879—"Jam litteris nostris per Paulum episcopum Anconitanum tibi directis prohibuimus" (Ep 129, Patrol. cxxvi.)—the mission of Paul into Germany and Pannonia having been in 873 or 874. Joh. Ep. 6; Ginzel, 60.

[i] Ginzel supposes that he answered the pope's letter, and, being satisfied with his own arguments, thought himself justified in continuing the use of the vernacular service (62), which the pope tacitly allowed (80). But the surprise expressed by John in his letters of 879 to Swatopluk and Methodius (Epp. 128-9) seems hardly consistent with this.

renewed complaint, to which it was now added that he taught some erroneous doctrines, he was cited to Rome in 879. The pope in his letter forbade the use of the Slavonic language in the Liturgy, although he allowed that until further order it might be used in preaching, forasmuch as the Psalmist charges all people to praise the Lord, and that St. Paul says, "Let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord."[k]

Methodius repaired to Rome, where he succeeded in justifying his orthodoxy before a synod—perhaps not without some concession as to the points of difference between his native church and that of the west. And his arguments in favour of the Slavonic tongue were so successful that, on returning to Moravia, he bore a letter from John to Swatopluk, in which the pope approves of the alphabet invented by Cyril,[l] and sanctions the use of the Slavonic liturgy, on the ground that the Scriptural command, "Praise the Lord, all ye nations," shows that the praises of God are not to be confined to three languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin),[m] but that He who formed these languages formed all others also, for His own glory. It is, however, ordered that, as a mark of greater honour, the Gospel shall be read in Latin before being read in the vernacular, and also that the king or any nobleman may, if he think fit, have the service of his private chapel in Latin.[n]

A.D. 880.

[k] Ep. 239. That the question of language had not occurred under Nicolas or Adrian II., see Schröckh, xxi. 416. A letter in the name of Adrian, giving the same sanction to the vernacular which was afterwards given by John, has been published by Schafarik in a Slavonic version, but is spurious. See Ginzel, 8, who gives it in a Latin retranslation, 44-5.

[l] "A Constantino quodam philosopho." It has been argued that John could not have spoken so vaguely of Constantine if he had supposed him to have been the brother of Methodius, and to have died at Rome not many years before (Neand. v. 438). But Pagi (xv. 370) and Gieseler (II. i. 356) conjecture *quondam*, and so Ginzel reads. Anh. 61.

[m] See above, p. 231.

[n] Ep. 293. Some writers of the Roman church have argued that the sanction of the vernacular in this case

In the same letter it was stated that Methodius was confirmed in his archbishoprick, with exclusive jurisdiction over the Moravian church. The pope adds that he has consecrated as bishop an ecclesiastic named Wiching, who had been recommended to him by Swatopluk, and begs the king to send another presbyter who may be raised to the same degree, in order that the primate, having two bishops under him, may be able to perform his functions without external help. By this arrangement it was intended that the Moravian church should be rendered entirely independent of Germany.[o]

From Moravia the gospel was introduced among the neighbouring and kindred people of Bohemia. Fourteen Bohemian chiefs had appeared before Lewis of Germany at Ratisbon in 845, and had been baptized by their own desire.[p] But of this conversion, which was most likely a mere political artifice, no effects are recorded; and Bohemia was heathen many years later, when the duke, Borziwoi, visited the Moravian court.[q] Swatopluk received him with honour, but at dinner assigned him and his followers a place on the floor, as being heathens.[r] Methodius, who sat at the king's table, addressed Borziwoi, expressing regret that so powerful a prince should be obliged to feed like a swineherd. The duke asked what he might expect to gain by becoming a Christian, and on being told that the change would exalt him above all kings and princes, he was baptized with his thirty com-

was given merely out of special regard for Cyril and Methodius (see Schröckh, xxi. 420). But the grounds on which it is rested are quite general. "Il y a," says M. Rohrbacher, "des hommes qui pensent que si le pape Jean VIII. avait tenu plus ferme à l'usage du Latin dans la liturgie sacrée, il aurait rendu moins facile le schisme et la perversion des nations Slavonnes." xii. 354.

[o] Col. 86; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 238.

[p] Annales Fuldenses, A.D. 845, in Freher, i. or Pertz, i.; Palacky, i. 110.

[q] This is placed in 894 by Assemanni (quoted by Schröckh, xxi. 429) and Pagi (xiv. 474); in 871, by Gieseler (II. i. 360), Palacky, and Pertz (ix. 39); in 878-9, by Ginzel, 18.

[r] See p. 115, for Ingo's treatment of heathens.

panions.[s] His wife, Ludmilla, embraced the gospel on worthier motives, and earned the title of martyr and saint.[t]

Methodius continued to be much annoyed by the Germans, who saw in the sanction of the Slavonic tongue an insuperable barrier against their influence in Moravia. It would seem also that Swatopluk became unfavourable to him,[u] and that Wiching, who was a German by birth, and a man of intriguing character, instead of co-operating with the archbishop, and rendering him the obedience which had been enjoined in the pope's letter to the king, set up claims to independence of all but the papal authority.[x] The last certain notice of Methodius is a letter of the year 881, in which John VIII. encourages him, and assures him that he had given no such privileges as were pretended to Wiching (whose name, however, is not mentioned).[y] The death of Methodius has been said to have taken place at Rome, and has been variously dated, from 881 to 910; but it seems more probable that he died in Moravia about the year 885.[z]

Wiching, after the death of Methodius, persecuted the clergy who maintained the Slavonic liturgy, and, with the aid of Swatopluk's soldiery, compelled them in 886 to seek a refuge in Bulgaria, where it is presumed that they must have adhered to the Greek communion.[a] On the death of Swatopluk, in 894, the kingdom was distracted

Vit. SS. Cyrill. et Method. ap. Pagi, xv. 474; Ginzel, Anh. 18. Palacky (i. 137) and Ginzel (69) deny the truth of the story.

Vita, 10, in Acta SS., Sept. 16. See below, c. viii.

[u] The provision as to Latin service in the king's chapel (p. 463) seems to hint that he had fallen under the German influence. Ginzel, 84.

[x] Giesel. II. i. 356; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 239. See the Bulgarian legend, Ginzel, Anh. 38-40.

[y] Ep. 319 (Patrol. cxxvi.). A letter in which Stephen V. (A.D. 890) is made to denounce Methodius, and utterly to disallow the Slavonic liturgy, although admitted as genuine by Jaffé (297), is probably a forgery of Wiching. See Ginzel, 20, 87, and Anh. 63.

[z] Giesel: II. i. 357; Palacky, i. 139; Ginzel, 91.

[a] Ib. 94.

by a war between his sons, while Arnulf of Germany pressed on it from without. Wiching had in 892 gone over to Arnulf, who appointed him his chancellor, and bestowed on him the bishoprick of Passau; but from this dignity he was deposed on his patron's death.[b] In 900, the German jealousy was provoked afresh by the measures which pope John IX. took for providing Moravia with a localized hierarchy instead of its former missionary establishment. Hatto, archbishop of Mentz, and Theotmar of Salzburg, with their suffragans, loudly remonstrated against the change;[c] but the strife was ended by the fall of the Moravian kingdom in 908.[d]

IV. The conquests of Charlemagne had brought the Franks into close neighbourhood with the northern nations, which were now so formidable to the more civilized inhabitants of other countries. Charlemagne, it is said, refrained from placing his territory beyond the Elbe under any of the bishopricks which he erected, because he intended to establish in those parts an archiepiscopal see which should serve as a centre for the evangelization of the north. He built a church at Hamburg, and committed it to a priest who was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction; but the prosecution of the scheme was broken off by the emperor's death.[e] The attention of his son, however, was soon drawn by other circumstances towards Nordalbingia. Policy, as well as religion, recommended the conversion of the Northmen; for, so long as the Saxons were only separated by the Elbe from those who adhered to the religion of their forefathers, there was a continual temptation for them to renounce

[b] Palacky, i. 150; Ginzel, 98.
[c] Hard. vi. 482-6; Ginzel, 99.
[d] Schröckh, xxi. 421; Giesel. II. i. 357.
[e] Ludov. Pius, in Patrol. cxviii. 1033; Rimbert. Vita S. Anskarii, 12, ap. Pertz, ii.; Adam. Bremens. i. 15, 17, ib. vii.

the Christianity which had been forced on them, and with it the subjection of which it was the token.[f]

Disputes as to the throne of Denmark between Harold and Godfrid led both parties to seek the countenance of Lewis the Pious. The emperor was struck with the importance of using this circumstance as an opening for the introduction of Christianity among the Danes; and Ebbo, archbishop of Reims, was willing to withdraw for a time from the enjoyment of his dignity, that he might extend the faith among these barbarians.[g] With the consent of Lewis, the archbishop went to Rome, where he obtained a commission from Paschal, authorizing himself and Halitgar, afterwards bishop of Cambray, to preach the gospel to the northern nations, and directing them to refer all difficult questions to the apostolic see.[h] The mission was resolved on in 822 by the diet of Attigny (the same diet which witnessed the penance of Lewis);[i] and in that year Ebbo and his companions set out in company with some ambassadors of Harold,[k] Welanao (now Münschdorf, near Itzehoe) being assigned by the emperor for their head-quarters.[l] Little is known of their proceedings, but it appears that they preached with much success,[m] and that Ebbo represented the spiritual and the temporal benefits of Christianity to Harold so effectually as to induce him to appear in 826 at Ingelheim, with his queen and a large train of attendants, and to express a desire for baptism, which they received in the church of St. Alban at Mentz. Lewis was sponsor for Harold, Judith for the queen, Lothair for their son, and the members of their train found sponsors of suitable rank among

Münter, i. 239.

[f] Ermold. Nigell. ap. Pertz, ii. 502-3; Flodoard, ii. 19 (Patrol. cxxxv. 131).

[g] Rimbert, 13. The letter, which is neither in Hardouin nor in the 'Patrologia,' is given in the original by Münter, i. 244, as also in the Acta SS., Feb. 3, p. 409.

[h] See p. 277.

[i] Münter, i. 248.

[k] Rimbert, 13.

[l] Münter, i. 256-8.

the Franks.[n] The emperor now resolved to send a fresh mission to the Danes but the barbarism of the Northmen, their strong hostility to Christianity, and the savage character of their paganism, with its sacrifices of human victims, deterred all from venturing on the hazards of such an expedition, until Wala of Corbie named Anskar, one of his monks, as a person suited for the work.[o]

Anskar, "the apostle of the north," was born about the year 801, and at an early age entered the monastery of Corbie, where he studied under Adelhard and Paschasius Radbert. He became himself a teacher in the monastery, and, after having for a time held a like office in the German Corbey, resumed his position in the parent society.[p] From childhood he had been remarkable for a devout and enthusiastic character. He saw visions, and it is said by his biographer that all the important events of his life were foreshown to him either in this manner or by an inward illumination, so that he was even accustomed to wait for such direction as to the course which he should take.[q] The death of his mother, when he was five years

[n] Astron. 40; Einhard. Ann. 826; Thegan, 33; Ermold. Nigell. ap. Pertz, ii. 508. For Ermold's embellishments and inaccuracies, see Dahlmann, Gesch. v. Dännemarck, i. 29. In illustration of the motives by which such converts were often actuated, the St. Gall biographer of Charlemagne relates that on one occasion, when the unusual number of candidates for baptism had exhausted the supply of the ordinary baptismal garments, a Northman neophyte openly expressed to Lewis his indignation at receiving one of coarser materials. "I have been washed here twenty times already," he said, "and always got dresses of the best and whitest stuff; but such a sack as this is fit for a swineherd, not for a warrior; and were it not for the shame of going naked, I would leave your dress and your Christ together." (L. ii. c. 19.) There is a story of another who, having sought baptism at Poitiers for the sake of the fine white robe which he expected to receive from his godfather, the count of the place, was baffled by finding that, as he was about to enter the church of St. Hilary, although the day was perfectly calm, a sudden gust of wind caught the dress, and carried it away over his head. Mabill. Annal. iii. 104.

[o] The Life of St. Anskar, by his pupil and successor Rimbert and another, is in Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. vi.; Pertz, ii.; and the 'Patrologia,' cxviii.; also, with many documents, in the Acta SS., Feb. 3.

[p] Rimbert, 6; Dahlmann, n. on c. 7, in Pertz.

[q] C. 36. It may be remarked that

old, affected him greatly, and he was weaned from the love of childish sports by a vision in which she appeared in company with some bright female forms. He felt himself entangled in mire, and unable to reach them, when the chief of the band, whom he knew to be the blessed Virgin, asked him whether he wished to rejoin his mother, and told him that, if so, he must forsake such vanities as are offensive to the saints.[r] His worldly affections were afterwards further subdued by the tidings of Charlemagne's death, which deeply impressed on him the instability of all earthly greatness.[s] In another vision, he fancied that his spirit was led out of the body by two venerable persons, whom he recognized as St. Peter and St. John. They first plunged him into purgatory, where he remained for three days in misery which seemed to last a thousand years. He was then conducted into a region where the Divine glory, displayed in the east, streamed forth on multitudes of adoring saints in transcendent brightness, which was yet not dazzling but delightful to the eye ; and from the source of inaccessible majesty, in which he could discern no shape, he heard a voice of blended power and sweetness—"Go, and thou shalt return to Me with the crown of martyrdom."[t] At a later time, the Saviour appeared to him, exhorted him to a full confession of his sins, and assured him that they were forgiven.[u] The assurance was afterwards repeated to him, and in answer to his inquiry, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" he was told, "Go, and preach to the Gentiles the word of God."[x]

When the northern mission was proposed to Anskar, he at once declared his readiness to undertake it. He adhered to his resolution, although many endeavoured to

in the recorded visions there is nothing of what would usually be considered a supernatural kind.

[r] Rimb. 2.
[s] Ib. 3.
[t] Ib 3
[u] Ib. 4.
[x] Ib. 9.

dissuade him, while Wala disclaimed the intention of enforcing the task on him by his monastic obligation to obedience; and his behaviour while preparing himself for the work by retirement and devotion had such an effect on Autbert, a monk of noble birth and steward of the monastery, that he offered himself as a companion.[y]

The missionaries could not prevail on any servant to attend them. On joining Harold they were treated with neglect by him and his companions, who, as Anskar's biographer says,[z] did not yet know how the ministers of God ought to be honoured. But when they had sailed down the Rhine as far as Cologne, the bishop of that city, Hadebold, out of compassion, bestowed on them a a vessel with two cabins, and as Harold found it convenient to take possession of one of these, he was brought into closer intercourse with the missionaries, who soon succeeded in inspiring him with a new interest in their undertaking. They fixed the centre of their operations at Hadeby, on the bank of the Schley opposite to Sleswick,[a] and laboured among both the Christians and the heathens of the Danish border. Anskar established a school for boys—the pupils being partly given to him, and partly bought for the purpose of training them up in the Christian faith. But Harold had offended many of his adherents by doing homage to Lewis and by his change of religion; they were further alienated when, in his zeal for the advancement of his new faith, he destroyed temples and even resorted to persecution; and the opposite party took advantage of the feeling Harold was expelled, and retired to a county in Frisia which the emperor had bestowed on him; and Anskar was obliged to leave Hadeby. Autbert had

A.D. 828-9.

[y] Rimb. 7.
[z] C. 8.
[a] See Bosworth, note in Alfred's Works, ii. 47-8.

already been compelled by severe illness to relinquish the mission, and died at Corbie in 829.[b]

A new opening soon presented itself to Anskar. It would appear that some knowledge of the gospel had already reached Sweden—partly, it is said, by means of intercourse which the inhabitants of that remote country had carried on with the Byzantine empire.[c] In 829 the court of Lewis was visited by ambassadors from Sweden, who, in addition to their secular business, stated that their countrymen were favourably disposed towards Christianity, and requested the emperor to supply them with teachers. Lewis bethought himself of Anskar, who agreed to undertake the work—regarding it as a fulfilment of his visions. His place with Harold was supplied by another; and Wala assigned him a monk named Witmar as a companion. The vessel in which the missionaries embarked was attacked by pirates, who plundered them of almost everything, including the presents designed by Lewis for the Swedish king. But they were determined to persevere, and, after many hardships, made their way to the northern capital, Birka or Sigtuna, on the lake Mälar.[d] The king, Biorn, received them graciously, and, with the consent of the national assembly, gave them permission to preach freely. Their ministrations were welcomed with delight by a number of Christian captives, who had long been deprived of the offices of religion; and among their converts was Herigar, governor of the district, who built a church on his estate.[e] After having laboured for a year and a half, Anskar and his companion returned with a letter from Biorn to Lewis, who was greatly pleased with their success, and resolved to place

[b] Rimb. 8; Münter, i. 261. Harold afterwards apostatized. Dahlmann, i. 44.

[c] Schröckh, xxi. 320; Kruse, 'St. Anschar,' Anh. E., Altona, 1823.

[d] Rimb. 10; Münter, i. 279. See Kruse, Anh. NN. *Birka* seems to mean a landing-place.

[e] Rimb. 11.

the northern mission on a new footing, agreeably to his father's intentions. An archiepiscopal see was to be established at Hamburg, and Anskar was consecrated for it at Ingelheim by Drogo of Metz, with the assistance of Ebbo and many other bishops.[f] He then repaired to Rome, where Gregory IV. bestowed on him the pall, with a bull authorizing him to labour for the conversion of the northern nations, in conjunction with Ebbo, whose commission from Paschal was still in force.[g] Lewis conferred on him the monastery of Turholt (Thouroult, between Bruges and Ypres), to serve at once as a source of maintenance and as a resting-place more secure than the northern archbishoprick.[h]

A.D. 831.

Ebbo, although diverted from missionary work by his other (and in part far less creditable) occupations, had continued to take an interest in the conversion of the north, and appears at this time to have made a second expedition to the scene of his old labours.[i] But as neither he nor Anskar could give undivided attention to the Swedish mission, it was now agreed that this should be committed to a relation of Ebbo named Gauzbert, who was consecrated to the episcopate and assumed the name of Simon. To him Ebbo transferred the settlement at Welanao, with the intention that it should serve the same purposes for which Turholt had been given to Anskar.[k]

Anskar entered with his usual zeal on the new sphere which had been assigned to him. He built at Hamburg a church, a monastery, and a college. According to the

[f] Rimb. 12.

[g] The document, as given in Münter's Appendix, includes in Anskar's jurisdiction Iceland and Greenland — the latter country then undiscovered, the former known only to the Irish. But these interpolations, which have brought on it the (apparently undeserved) suspicion of forgery (see Dahlm. n. on Rimb. c. 13, ed. Pertz; Münter, i. 282; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 124; Rafn, Antiquitates Americanæ, 13), do not appear in the 'Patrologia,' cxviii. 1035, or in the renewal of the grant by Sergius II., A.D. 846 (ib. cxxix. 997).

[h] Ludov. Præceptum, Patrol. cxviii. 1033; Rimb. 12.

[i] Schröckh, xxi. 324-5.

[k] Rimb. 14.

system which he had followed at Hadeby, he bought a number of boys with a view to educating them as Christians; and some of them were sent to Turholt, while others remained with him.[l] But after a time[m] Hamburg was attacked by a great force of Northmen, under Eric, king of Jutland. The archbishop exerted himself in encouraging the inhabitants to hold out until relief should arrive; but the assailants were too strong to be long resisted; the city was sacked and burnt, and Anskar was obliged to flee. He had lost his church, his monastery, and his library, among the treasures of which was a magnificent copy of the Scriptures,[n] the gift of the emperor; some relics bestowed on the church by Ebbo were all that he was able to rescue. Yet, reduced as he was to necessity, he repeated Job's words of resignation—"The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!" Leutbert bishop of Bremen, who had before looked on the new archbishoprick with jealousy, refused to entertain him, and he was indebted for a refuge to the charity of a widow named Ikia, of Ramsloh, where he gradually collected some of his scattered followers.[o] About the same time Gauzbert was expelled from Sweden by a popular rising, in which his nephew Notbert was killed.[p]

To add to Anskar's distress, his monastery of Turholt, being within that portion of the empire which fell to Charles the Bald on the death of Lewis, was bestowed by the new sovereign on a layman.[q] His monks finding no means of subsistence, were obliged to leave him:[r] but he found a patron in A.D. 842.

[l] Rimb. 15; Münter, i. 290.

[m] Dahlmann (n. on Rimb. c. 17) places this in 837; Gfrörer (Karol. i. 125-6) in 842; Schröckh (xxi. 325), Münter (i. 293), and Neander (v. 382), in 845.

[n] "Bibliotheca." For this sense of the word, see Ducange, s. v.; Beleth, Rationale, 60 (Patrol. ccii.); Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 194.

[o] Rimb. 16; Münter, i. 299.

[p] Rimb. 17.

[q] Dahlmann, note on Rimb.

[r] Rimb. 21.

Lewis of Germany, who founded a monastic establishment for him at Ramsloh, and resolved to bestow on him the bishoprick of Bremen, which fell vacant by the death of Leutbert.[s] Anskar was himself unwilling to take any active part in the matter, lest he should be exposed to charges of rapacity,[t] and some canonical objections arose; but these were overcome with the consent of the bishops who were interested. The union of the dioceses was sanctioned by the council of Mentz (the same at which Gottschalk was condemned) in 848; and, sixteen years after it had virtually taken effect, it was confirmed by Nicolas I., who renewed the gift of the pall to Anskar, and appointed him legate for the evangelization of the Swedes, the Danes, the Slavons, and other nations of the north.[u]

A.D. 864.

In the meantime Anskar had been actively employed. Repeated political missions from Lewis of Germany had made him known to the Danish king Horic or Eric, who had long been one of the most formidable chiefs of the northern devastators, and had led the force which burnt and plundered Hamburg. Anskar gained a powerful influence over the king, who, although it does not appear that he was himself baptized, granted the missionaries leave to preach throughout his dominions, and to build a church at Sleswick.[x] The work of conversion went on rapidly. Danish traders who had received baptism at Hamburg or Dorstadt now openly professed Christianity, and Christian merchants from other countries ventured more freely into Denmark, so that Eric found the wealth of his kingdom increased by the

A.D. 848-853.

[s] Dahlmann (on Rimb. 22) places this in 847; Gfrörer (Karol. i. 149) in 845-6; Mabillon (Acta SS., Ben. vi. 95) in 849.

[t] Rimb 22.

[u] Nic. Ep. 62 (Patrol. cxix.); Rimbert, 23. This was the first commission in which absolute obedience to papal decrees was required (col. 879; Hardwick, 152). Mansi (in Baron. xiv. 480) and Jaffé (245) date it in 864; Münter (i. 303) and others, in 858.

[x] Rimb. 24; Schröckh, xxi. 328-33.

consequences of the toleration which he had granted. Many of the converts, however, put off their baptism until they felt the approach of death; while it is said that some heathens, after their life had been despaired of, and after they had invoked their own gods in vain, on entreating the aid of Christ were restored to perfect health.[y]

After the withdrawal of Gauzbert, Sweden remained for seven years without any Christian teacher, until Anskar sent into the country a priest and hermit named Ardgar, who preached with great effect—his efforts, it is said, being powerfully seconded by judgments which befell all who had been concerned in the expulsion of Gauzbert.[z] Herigar had throughout remained faithful, notwithstanding all that he had to endure from his unbelieving countrymen; and on his death-bed he was comforted by the ministrations of Ardgar.[a] But Ardgar longed to return to his hermitage, and after a time relinquished his mission.[b] Gauzbert, now bishop of Osnaburg, whom Anskar requested to resume his labours in Sweden, declined, on the ground that another preacher would be more likely to make a favourable impression on the people than one whom they had already ejected from their country. Anskar himself, therefore, resolved to undertake the work—being encouraged by a vision in which his old superior Adelhard appeared to him.[c] He was accompanied by envoys from Eric to king Olof of Sweden, and bore a letter of warm recommendation from the Danish king. But on landing in Sweden he found the state of things very unpromising. A short time before this a Swede had arisen in the national assembly, declaring that he was charged with a communication from the gods, who had bidden him tell his countrymen that, if they wished to enjoy a continuance of prosperity, they must revive with

[y] Rimb. 24. [z] Ib. 17, 19. [a] Ib. 19.
[b] Ib. 20. [c] Ib. 25.

increased zeal the ancient worship, and must exclude all other religions. "If," the celestial message graciously concluded, "you are not content with us, and wish to have more gods, we all agree to admit your late king Eric into our number." A great effect had followed on this: a temple had been built to Eric, and was crowded with worshippers; and such was the excitement of the people that Anskar's friends advised him to desist from his enterprise, as it could not but be fruitless and might probably cost him his life. He was, however, resolved to persevere. He invited the king to dine with him, and, having propitiated him by gifts, requested permission to preach. Olof replied that, as some former preachers of Christianity had been forcibly driven out of the country, he could not give the required licence without consulting the gods, and obtaining the sanction of the popular assembly; "for," says Anskar's biographer, "in that nation public affairs are determined less by the king's power than by the general consent of the people."[d] A lot was cast in an open field, and was favourable to the admission of the Christian teachers. The assembly was swayed by the speech of an aged member, who said that the power of the Christians' God had often been experienced, especially in dangers at sea; that many of his countrymen had formerly been baptized at Dorstadt; why then, he asked, should they refuse, now that it was brought to their own doors, that which they had before sought from a distance?[e] The assembly of another district also decided for the admission of Christianity; and the feeling in favour of the new religion was strengthened by miracles performed on an expedition which Olof undertook to Courland. Converts flocked in, churches were built, and Anskar found himself at liberty to return to Denmark,

[d] Rimb. 26. Cf. Ad. Brem. Descr. Insul. Aquil. c. 22, ap. Pertz, vii.
[e] Rimb. 27

leaving Gumbert, a nephew of Gauzbert, at the head of the Swedish mission.[f]

During the archbishop's absence, Eric had fallen in a bloody battle with a pagan faction, which had used his encouragement of Christianity as a pretext for attacking him. The most powerful of Anskar's other friends had shared the fate of their king; the greater part of Denmark was now in the hands of the enemy; and Eric II., who had succeeded to a part of his father's territory, was under the influence of Hovi, earl of Jutland, who persuaded him that all the late misfortunes were due to the abandonment of the old national religion. The church at Sleswick was shut up, its priest was expelled, and the Christians were cruelly persecuted.[g] Anskar could only betake himself to prayer for a change from this unhappy state of things, when he unexpectedly received a letter from the young king, professing as warm an interest in the gospel as that which his father had felt, and inviting the missionaries to resume their labours. Hovi had fallen into disgrace, and was banished. The progress of Christianity was now more rapid than ever. The church at Sleswick was for the first time allowed to have a bell; another church was founded at Ripe, the second city of Denmark, on the coast opposite to Britain, and Rimbert, a native of the neighbourhood of Turholt, who had grown up under Anskar's tuition, was appointed its pastor.[h]

Anskar's labours were continued until the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his episcopate. Although the progress of the Swedish mission was retarded by the death or the withdrawal of some who were employed in it, he was able to provide for its continuance, chiefly by means of clergy of Danish birth, whom he had trained up in the seminary at Ramsloh.[i] Amidst his trials and

[f] Rimb. 28, 30.
[g] Ib. 31; Münter, i. 310-11.
[h] Rimb. 32; Münter, i. 313-14.
[i] Rimb. 33.

disappointments he frequently consoled himself by remembering the assurance which Ebbo, when bishop of Hildesheim, had expressed to him, that God would not fail in His own time to crown the work with success.[k] The biographer Rimbert dwells with delight on his master's strict adherence to the monastic customs, which he maintained to the last; on his mortifications, which he carried to an extreme in youth, until he became aware that such excesses were a temptation to vain-glory, and how, when no longer able to bear them, he endeavoured to supply the defect by alms and prayers; on his frequent and fervent devotion; on his charitable labours, his building of hospitals, redemption of captives, and other works of mercy.[l] Among the results of his exertions, it deserves to be remembered that in 856 he persuaded the leading men of Nordalbingia to give up the trade which they had carried on in slaves.[m] In addition to works of a devotional kind, he wrote a Life of Willehad, the first bishop of Bremen,[n] and a journal of his own missions, which is known to have been sent to Rome in the thirteenth century, and, although often sought for in vain, may possibly still exist there.[o] He is said to have performed some miraculous cures, but to have shunned the publication of them, except among his most intimate friends; and when they were once spoken of in his hearing, he exclaimed, "If I were worthy in the sight of my Lord, I would ask him to grant me one miracle—that He would make me a good man!"[p]

In his last illness Anskar was greatly distressed by the apprehension that his sins had frustrated the promise which had been made to him of the martyr's crown. Rimbert endeavoured to comfort him by saying that

[k] Rimb. 34.
[l] C. 35.
[m] Münter, i. 315.
[n] Printed in Pertz, ii., and Patrol. cxviii.
[o] Münter, i. 319.
[p] Vita, 39.

violent death is not the only kind of martyrdom; by reminding him of his long and severe labours for the gospel, and of the patience with which he had endured much sickness—especially the protracted sufferings of his death-bed. At length, as he was at mass, the archbishop, although fully awake, had a vision in which he was reproved for having doubted, and was assured that all that had been promised should be fulfilled. His death took place on the festival of the Purification, in the year 865.[q]

When asked to name a successor, Anskar declined to do so on the ground that he was unwilling, by preferring one before others, to add to the offence which he might probably have given to many during his lifetime. But on being questioned as to his opinion of Rimbert, he answered—"I am assured that he is more worthy to be an archbishop than I am to be a sub-deacon."[r] To Rimbert, therefore, the see of Hamburg was committed on Anskar's death, and for nearly a quarter of a century he carried on the work in the spirit of his master, for the knowledge of whose life we are chiefly indebted to his reverential and affectionate biography. Rimbert died in 888.[s]

[q] Vita, 40-1.
[r] Vita S. Rimberti, c. 10, ap. Pertz, ii.
[s] Münter, i. 341.

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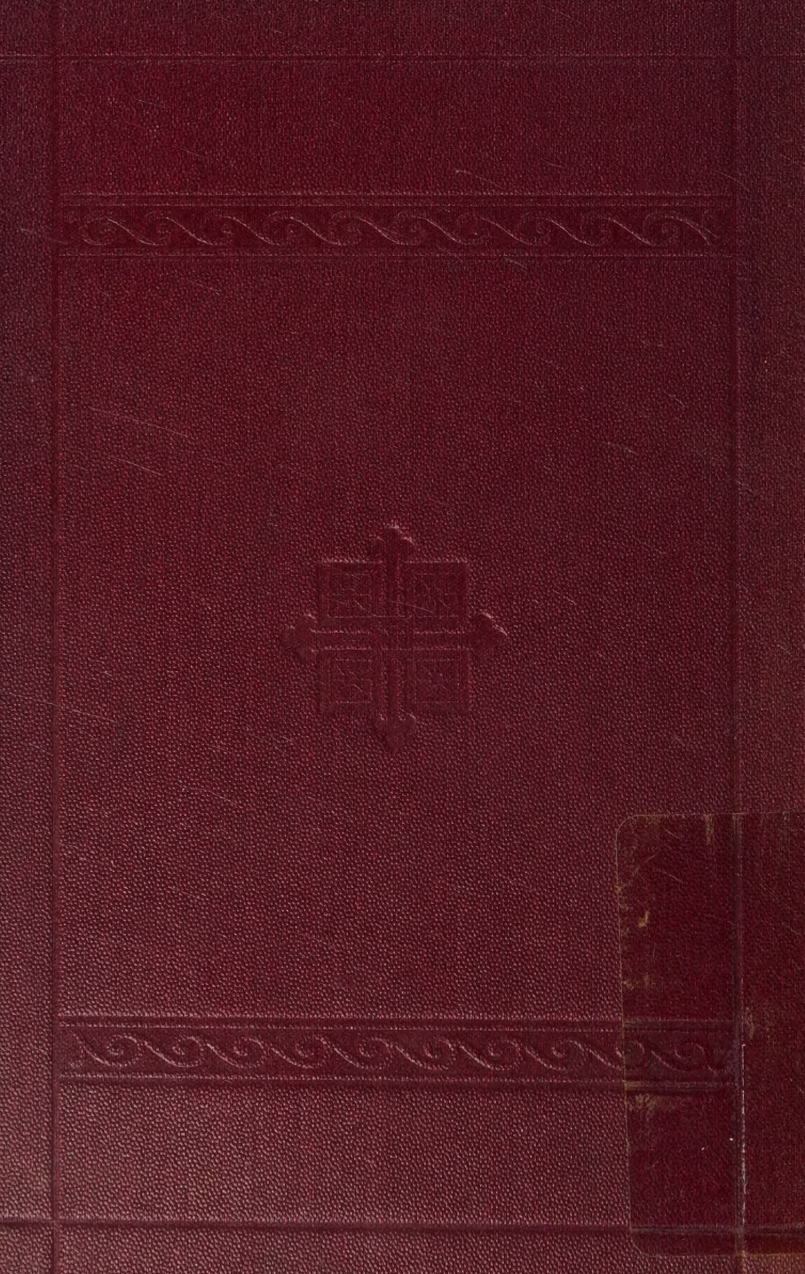
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